THE LIFE OF WILLIAM AUGUSTUS DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

CONTAINING

A Circumſtantial and Hiſtorical Account of the Times for the laſt Forty-four Years.

By ANDREW HENDERSON, M. A.

Author of the Hiſtory of the REBELLION.

Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo. VIRG.

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M DCC LXVI.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

The Princeſs AMELIA,

This LIFE of

Her ROYAL BROTHER the

DUKE OF CUMBERLAND

IS DEDICATED,

With the profoundeſt Reſpect and Regard,

By Her Royal Highneſs's moſt obedient,

Moſt devoted and humble Servant,

—

And. Henderſon.

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PREFACE.

IF the actions of good men, who have defended religion and the liberties of their country, ought to be recorded, then there need be no apology for publiſhing a Life of his Royal Highneſs William Auguſtus *Duke of* Cumberland: *I muſt only apologize for myſelf, in undertaking ſo arduous a taſk, and ſo truly glorious a theme.*

Two Gentlemen of great worth and probity, being pleaſed with my Hiſtory of the Rebellion, *fixed upon me as a perſon who had, with ſome care, enquired into the tranſactions of that period, when the conduct of his Royal Highneſs was every way conſpicuous; that performance was publiſhed at* London *in* January 1748, *after I had left* Watts's *academy, to which I had been ſent up, as mathematical maſter, by a Gentleman of great learning, who is now ſteward upon one of the largeſt eſtates in* North Britain. *My book was twice pirated, and three times reprinted, an honour done to no other account of theſe troubles; and Mr.* Griffiths *the publiſher (if alive) will do me the juſtice to acknowledge how deſirous I was to rectify every miſtake that might have crept into it, and ſtill am, being always ready to embrace truth wherever it is to be found.*

Unfortunately for this performance, it differs widely from Dr. Tobias Smollett's *Hiſtory almoſt in every particular: and however willing I may be to yield to that Gentleman in every point of literature, yet I muſt confeſs that my opportunities of knowing* Scotland *were no leſs than his, or what any of his votaries can pretend to.*

I was born five miles ſouth eaſt of the Tweed, *in the ſhire of* Roxburgh, *where my predeceſſors by both my parents lived for five hundred years before: con-*

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nected in blood with thoſe of the ſurnames of Scott *and* Douglaſs, *I can ſay with great truth,*

No parricide nor rebel yet was known
In all my line; let each excuſe his own.

Being ſcarce turned of five years, I went to the North with the beſt of fathers. While at the univerſities of Aberdeen *and* Edinburgh, *I had opportunities of being acquainted with Gentlemen from different parts of the kingdom, eſpecially as I was tutor to the Counteſs of* Stair's *nephew, and to Mr.* Thomas Young, *ſon to Colonel* Young, *Lord* Stair's *aid de camp. I likewiſe taught in the high ſchool of* Edinburgh, *by which, with my being tutor to Colonel* Dugald Campbell *in* Argyleſhire, *I had occaſion to know every county in* Scotland *but three, and alſo to be in ſeveral of the iſles.*

As to inſerting the manifeſtoes of the Pretender, it was by the advice of ſome eminent Clergymen and Officers of State, in order to lay open the pernicious tendency of the Adventurer's attempt, whoſe object was the diſſolution of that union, on which the ſtrength, the power, nay, and the glory of Great Britain *do ſo entirely depend; and conſequently to ſet forth what gratitude is due from every* Proteſtant *and* Engliſhman *to him, whoſe valour and conduct defeated the daring and impious project.*

As to the events which fell not within my own view, I have taken them from the beſt evidence, as I have thoſe upon the continent; and am fully ſatisfied of the truth of moſt of the matters herein contained.

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THE

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

BOOK I.

CONTENTS.

A ſhort Account of the Family of Hanover,—*the Birth of the Duke of* Cumberland,—*his Education and Advancement*,—*the Death of Sir* Iſaac Newton,—*and of King* George I.—*the War in* 1739--1743,—*and a Deſcription of the Battle of* Dettingen.

AMONG the ſeveral princes of Germany, who are diſtinguiſhed for riches, or eminent in power, there is not one at this time beyond the Electoral Houſe of Hanover; the country is among the moſt fertile in the circle of Weſtphalia; it is well watered with rivers, remarkable for fine horſes, yields a revenue

of 600,000 *l. per annum*, and furniſhes an army of 30,000 men; their deſcent might be traced up to the Pagan gods of ancient Rome, and ever ſince the year 490 they have been poſſeſſed of principalities in the Lower Saxony, which, united togegether, formed a very great and conſiderable dukedom about the middle of the 14th century, known by the name of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh, to diſtinguiſh it from Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttle, of which they were deſcended: two of theſe dukes of Lunenburgh wore the Imperial diadem, an evident token of their importance in the empire, and a plain indication that they were not unworthy the choice which a nation, far more powerful than the Germanic body, made of them to wear a crown more brilliant and illuſtrious than that of any emperor, or other potentate.

On the head of George I. Elector of Hanover, was the Engliſh diadem conferred, in conſequence of his being the neareſt Proteſtant heir to the Britiſh throne: there was indeed an heir nearer, but then he was a Roman Catholic, and the perſon, viz. King Charles I. by whom the deſcent came, had been put to death by the hands of a common executioner. The Duke of Savoy, grandfather to the preſent King of Sardinia, is the perſon meant: he was the grandſon of Philip, Duke of Orleans, and of Henrietta of England, daughter to that unfortunate prince, whoſe reign was ſo unhappy, and whoſe exit was ſo fatal and unprecedented: it has long been a diſpute among politicians, whether or not the deſcendant from a man, who had died upon a ſcaffold, was to have the preference to one, whoſe anceſtors had not been ſo publicly ſtigmatized; for my part, I am always for remedying injuries, and think that any perſon ought to be regarded the more, on account of

the hardſhips ſuffered by his immediate anceſtors, provided the ſame have been the effect of injuſtice and cruelty, or, in other words, have been wholly undeſerved: a circumſtance extremely doubtful in the caſe of King Charles I. whoſe connections with France were the ſource and ſpring not only of his calamity, but perhaps one of the prevailing motives with the Britiſh parliament to paſs over his offspring in the act of ſettlement, and to fix the crown upon the head of a prince eminent for his virtues, diſtinguiſhed by his bravery, and admired for his oeconomy and conduct; the circumſtance of being deſcended from a prince, who had ſtood in a field of blood for the Proteſtant religion at the famous battle of Prague, anno 1620, was not a ſmall incident in his favour, and to give it a further ſanction the Duke of Lunenburgh himſelf fought in that engagement on the ſide of the Proteſtant army: however, theſe qualifications, fortunate as they were, would not have entirely weighed with them, had not the ſuperior qualities of George I. commanded reſpect and dignity; he had ſerved in the armies of the empire againſt France and the Turks, and had come with a body of 10,000 men to the relief of Vienna, 1683, then beſieged by the Turkiſh army, conſiſting of 200,000 men, commanded by the Grand Seignor in perſon, hitherto fluſhed with ſlaughter, crowned with conqueſt, and become courageous through an obſtinate inveteracy againſt the Chriſtian name: in a word, his Majeſty King George I. was thoroughly acquainted with the art of war, and in the year 1708 commanded the army of the Empire upon the Rhine. Monſieur Voltaire, notwithſtanding his attachment to his native country, and to the Stuart family, is yet forced, as it were againſt his will, to beſtow upon him the fineſt and the moſt exalted

encomiums; for at the very time when he is charging him with an oppreſſive ambition, in attacking the King of Sweden, while ready to be devoured by a number of enemies too powerful for him, he is obliged to own that he was adored by his German ſubjects, that he hated the pride of Majeſty, and delighted to converſe in great familiarity with a few old courtiers. He was, continued he, one of the wiſeſt Kings in Europe, and perhaps the only one who could taſte upon a throne the pleaſures of friendſhip and a private life *.

The family of Hanover are naturally ſoldiers, born with all the ardour of a military genius; an inſtance of which we ſhall give in our late ſovereign. He came to the army of the Allies in the month of June 1708, then commanded by Prince Eugene of Savoy, and by the Duke of Marlborough, under the direction of which laſt he was entirely put by the Elector his father. As the crown of England, upon the deceaſe of William Duke of Glouceſter, ſon to Queen Anne, did by the act of ſettlement devolve upon the heirs of the Princeſs Sophia, Dutcheſs Dowager of Hanover, ſo the young Prince wanted to ſignalize himſelf, by engaging among thoſe over whom he was one day to govern; and ſoon an opportunity offered: for on the 11th of July that year was fought the terrible battle of Oudenarde between the army of the Allies, and that of France commanded by the Duke de Vendoſme, and animated by the preſence of the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, attended by the old Chevalier de St. George, in favour of whom the Houſe of Bourbon ſeemed to intereſt herſelf ſeriouſly. As the Pretender to

* Hiſtory of Charles XII. Book VII.

the

the throne of England was in the oppoſite army, ſo the young Electoral Prince of Hanover, judging of the ſpirit of his rival by his own, thought he would undoubtedly charge at the head of the Gens d'Armes, in order to give a proof of his being worthy to wear that crown, which he had ſo lately ſought after, and therefore wanted not to be outdone in point of courage and magnanimity. He intreated the Duke of Marlborough to ſuffer him to charge in the firſt line of the Britiſh cavalry, and at the head of the regiment of Greys. The Duke however, ready to comply with any propoſal from his Highneſs on any other occaſion, yet was inflexible to the moſt earneſt ſolicitations as to this particular; for he looked upon the young man as Prince of Wales, the property of the people of Great Britain, and conſequently not to be expoſed to the doubtful fates and calamities of an engagement. This being the caſe, he watched an opportunity of joining the Hanoverian cavalry, and rode into the foremoſt rank juſt as they were advancing to the charge: oppoſite to theſe was a party of the Gens d'Armes, a circumſtance which only fired the young hero; he charged with all the intrepidity and valour that could be expected from the moſt enterprizing and reſolute ſoldier, and when his horſe was ſhot under him, he fought on foot until another was brought to remount him. In a word, he was in the hotteſt place of the firing; every action was done as with forethought, and from the beſt laid plans of operation; he was only miſtaken in one thing; the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, with the Chevalier, were not in the field; for by the advice of Vendoſme, the two firſt went up to the ſpire of an high ſteeple, from thence to behold the progreſs of the battle; and the Chevalier was ſo complaiſant as to attend them.

However, their ſtay was but ſhort; for on ſeeing the clouds of ſmoke, and hearing the firing, which was both loud and terrible, they haſtened down, and each of them mounted a courſer, which ſtood ready for them, and ſo galloped off to a further diſtance.

But though the conduct of the Dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and the Chevalier, was no leſs ſhameful for them, than the behaviour of the Electoral Prince of Hanover was glorious for him; yet a Prince * of the Duke of Marlborough's experience and judgment was not to diſpenſe with a ſtrictneſs of diſcipline, which is the vital principle, whence, as from a fountain, is derived the health, the ſafety, and welfare of every army. He ordered him to be tried by a court-martial. The Prince appeared, and, like Epaminondas of old, he generouſly and openly confeſſed his having charged at the head of his father's cavalry. The defence was not ſuſtained; he was degraded from the rank of a major-general to that of a corporal, and the report being made to the Elector his father, the ſame was approved by him. However, the ſuſpenſion was ſoon taken off, the Prince was honourably reſtored to his dignity, and the army in general, from this ſudden eclipſe of his ſtation, began to look upon his aſpect as more brilliant after the clouds were blown over that had darkened it for a time; and with his employment he regained the favour and affection of his father, of which he ſeemed in ſome meaſure to have been deprived.

Every action of King George I. ſeemed to be dictated, as it were, by wiſdom itſelf; he knew how to reconcile jarring intereſts, and was well acquainted with men and with things; his tender-

* He was Prince of Mildelhielm, an honour conferred on him, anno 1704, by the Emperor Leopold, on account of the battle of Hockſtet.

neſs

neſs toward his children was not the leaſt conſpicuous among his virtues; he came to the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Britiſh throne on the deceaſe of Queen Anne without bloodſhed. He landed at Greenwich on the 18th of September 1714, attended with his eldeſt ſon, and was there received by the lords of the regency, the officers of ſtate, and a prodigious concourſe of nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction, and on the 20th made his public entry into the city of London, attended by the Prince riding on his right hand, and by two hundred coaches and ſix of others, who waited upon him. There was a thorough change in the miniſtry; all who had ſtickled for a ſeparate peace with France were diſcharged; the Duke of Marlborough, whoſe fame had filled every court in Europe, was made generaliſſimo; the Duke of Argyle was made commander of the forces in Scotland; the Earl of Stair was ſent Embaſſador into France; and ſuch as were connected with theſe great men ſhared the Royal favour. It was no wonder that a Prince of ſuch uncommon penetration and goodneſs as King George I. ſhould deal tenderly with his children; he had only two, a daughter and a ſon; the former of whom was at that time Queen of Pruſſia, and has favoured the world with a race of Princes, who, at the time of writing this, are looked upon to be among the beſt accompliſhed commanders in Europe; the latter was our late Sovereign, known by the name of George II. who ſwayed the Britiſh ſceptre almoſt thirty-three years. He had by his Royal conſort Queen Caroline two ſons and five daughters; the firſt of whom, Frederic Prince of Wales, was a mirror of good-nature, generoſity, and virtue; and the ſecond, the ſubject of theſe memoirs, was poſſeſſed of all the accompliſhments that can either

render a man amiable in private life, or make him ſhine with luſtre in an exalted ſtation. The great and ſhining qualities of his anceſtors united in him; nor did he, like other heroes, carry them to ſuch exceſs, as to render them hurtful or pernicious: by his care, vigilance, and circumſpection, he held them in their due poiſe, and knew, like the ſkilful markſman, how to uſe them, and when it was moſt proper to exert them to advantage. It is of him we intend to write what has come to our knowledge concerning his perſon and actions.

He was born at Leiceſter-houſe on the 26th of April 1721, N.S. an event which not a little contributed to appeaſe the minds of the people then exaſperated to the higheſt degree, by the great and ſingular loſſes which many gentlemen of large and opulent eſtates had lately ſuſtained.

The project of the South Sea Company, in the year 1720, was one of thoſe ſchemes that may diſcover the blindneſs of thoſe that are ſet upon acquiring riches, and the hidden arts that men, intent upon villainy, and who had abandoned conſcience, were able to effectuate. Under pretence of reducing the public funds into one capital, and of paying off the national debt, did the contrivers of the South Sea ſtock procure the ſanction of the legiſlature; their ſcheme was firſt approved by the parliament on the 1ſt of February 1720, and in April following received the Royal aſſent. It was ſtrange that a trading nation could not ſee into the impropriety of trading to advantage to ſuch diſtant regions: for whether the navigation to thoſe ſeas be by the Cape of Good Hope, or by ſailing to the ſouthward of the Straits of Magellan, as Lord Anſon did in the year 1742, yet the voyage is dangerous through the variety of climates, the profits are uncertain, and at that time the coaſts of

theſe remote places were only known to the Spaniards, who concealed them, as in a repoſitory: however a proſpect of gaining, cent. upon cent. engaged many to put in large ſums in the South Sea ſtock: the rich citizens of this great metropolis laid in very large ſums, gentlemen of fortune borrowed money upon their paternal eſtates, to trade with: it was no new thing, to ſee a thouſand pounds paid down for one hundred employed in the South Sea capital, which ſoon amounted to two millions: and for the further encouragement, the contrivers paid ſome poor people very large and conſiderable ſums, while the opulent and wealthy received little more than fair promiſes. In a word, rich men became poor and the poor became rich by this ſcene of iniquity: which, about the latter end of Auguſt, began to open, and continued ſo to do till Michaelmas, when the ſtock fell from 1000l. to 150l. and before the Chriſtmas following all was detected: many great and antient families were reduced to the loweſt ebb of miſery: many ladies of fortune were from this reduced to the alternative of ſtarving or going into a workhouſe, where far from meeting with ſuch uſage as the intention of the charity propoſed, or as humanity and goodneſs ſuggeſted, they were inſulted by the matrons, of whom better things might have been expected, and frequently dragged by the hair of the head from one apartment to another, and thrown down ſtairs with violence at laſt. Nor did the evil ſtop here, for while the contrivers of the South Sea ſcheme were impoveriſhing men of property with chimerical projects, others, whoſe views were more generous, whoſe intentions were more candid and fair, projected ſchemes of a more ſalutary nature, and under the name of companies, wanted to form ſocieties for the manufactory of

linen,

linen, and the advancement of the fiſheries, which laſt is an inexhauſtible ſource of wealth to the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland: but theſe, with other ſchemes of the like kind, were not only refuſed by the privy council, but ſuppreſſed by public proclamation: for as the South Sea project had ruined many, and that above one million and an half ſterling had been loſt by individuals, the clamour was ſo loud againſt ſome contrivers, thought to be in the ſecret of the whole, that the nation in general was put in a ferment, and our trade both foreign and domeſtic was well nigh ruined.

But tho' the fraud was detected by Sir Robert Walpole, who thereupon was made Chancellor of the Exchequer and firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, tho' the money (1,450,000 l.) found in the repoſitories at the South Sea houſe was appropriated to the ſufferers, yet the complaints continued to be both loud and piercing, till the time of the birth of prince William, when theſe began to ſubſide: he was baptized by the name of William, a name very propitious for England, for Holland, and in ſhort for the proteſtant cauſe: the birth of a ſon born to the Royal family, and among ourſelves, was ſingularly pleaſing to the public, and the more ſo on account of the name given him; and what not a little tended to enhance the ſatisfaction, they had been deprived of a former prince of that name: a coolneſs, whether political or real is but a circumſtance, that had ſubſiſted between the King and his Son, was intirely removed: the ordinary guards that attended the Prince of Wales were reſtored, and did duty at Leiceſter-houſe as before the miſunderſtanding; and, to ſhew that the harmony was perfect and intire, the Prince of Wales the year following accompanied his Royal Father in a tour to Hampſhire, when he viſited Wincheſter, the docks,

docks, yards, arſenals, magazines and ſhipping in the port and harbour of Portſmouth, and returning by the way of Guilford in Surrey to his palace at Kenſington, he procured an univerſal affection and applauſe: nor muſt we paſs over in ſilence that the year of this Prince's birth was remarkable for the firſt trial of inoculation in England: the experiment was made with ſucceſs upon ſome convicts in Newgate, and now ſeems univerſally to be received in this country as ſalutary and uſeful: the greateſt phyſicians in this iſland ſeem to have approved of it; even in Kent, where the ſmall-pox is looked on as the peſtilence, it has been received; at Maidſtone, which is certainly a fine ſituation, and a place of great commerce and trade, it is almoſt tried upon every individual, and I have been credibly informed, that out of a very great number who have gone through the operation, only one young lady died. However to treat in this place upon inoculation, a ſubject which I don't pretend to underſtand, would be prepoſterous, and yet one cannot paſs over that the queſtion, whether it be more advantageous to the public? is at this time under the conſideration of the learned: the different phyſicians in Europe have the matter before them, and time will produce the deciſion, which I hope will be for the preſervation of mankind, and which no ſordid views or ſelf-intereſt of any individual ought ever to preponderate againſt.

Whether the intire and cordial reconciliation between the King and his Son, proceeded from the great tenderneſs or regard which he always ſhewed toward the Princeſs of Wales and her offſpring, or to the complacency which he diſcovered at the birth of a prince, in the midſt of a people over whom Providence had ſet him, certain it is that no man ever diſcovered a greater ſatisfaction and delight

light than did King George the Firſt in this young Prince, whoſe charms even in a ſtate of infancy were ſignificant of his approaching greatneſs: the Princeſs of Wales was ſo fond of him that ſhe carried him in her lap whether in a coach or chair upon a viſit, or even when taking a tour or airing into the country. Numbers of people have crowded from all corners of the city to look at the Mother and her Son: the innate comelineſs and native grace ſtamped upon every feature, and legible in every attitude of the one, with the Royal tenderneſs and care ſo viſible in the ſeveral manœuvres of the other, procured an univerſal love, veneration, and eſteem. The city was full of the prints of the Princeſs of Wales ſitting with her Son upon her knee; the generous and tender-hearted frequently ſhed tears at the ſight, and poured out their bleſſings upon both; the diſaffected themſelves were forced to yield their tribute of praiſe, envy itſelf was dumb and loſt in wonder, factions were ſilent, and both friends and enemies vied in their encomiums. The King himſelf at the firſt inſtallation of Kights after the birth of the Prince created him a Knight of the Bath, and put the red ribband, the enſign of it, about him with his own hand: his Majeſty rightly judged it moſt proper to begin with this Order, as its principal deſign was to relieve the orphan, the widow, and thoſe who had none to help them; for he had obſerved ſuch ſhining inſtances of goodneſs and generoſity in the heart of the Prince even during his childhood, that he thought him worthy of this honour even upon the footing of his own merit. Scarce had he begun to walk when he was obſerved to feel for the poor; and ſuch engaging ſallies of goodneſs and the ſagacity dropped from him on every occaſion, as could not fail of raiſing both affection and eſteem.

One day the Princeſs was going to Kenſington, to pay her compliments to the King: and as the coach paſſed through Hyde-park a multitude of poor people crowded about it, as uſual: her Highneſs being exceeding popular, held up the child in her arms, that they might ſee him: without heſitating a moment he threw among them what ſilver he had in his hand; and being checked for his raſhneſs, as the people began to ſtruggle about the ſpoil, he calmly anſwered with an endearing ſmile, which was ever moſt familiar to him; "O, madam, ought not I to love my loyal ſubjects?" The Princeſs ſeemed to ſtorm at the expreſſion, and ſaid, "You little rogue, how come you to ſay my ſubjects, they are only the King's." "O, madam, (anſwered he) I meant the loyal ſubjects; for I know that they are only the ſubjects of my royal Grand-father."

Such ſhining and tranſcendent goodneſs could not fail of being highly pleaſing to the King, who at the grand inſtallation of thirty-ſeven knights of the different orders, on the 25th of May 1725, made him a Knight of the Bath. The ceremony was in the Abbey of Weſtminſter; to which the companions marched in their robes, and from thence to a very grand and moſt magnificent entertainment: and to ſhew further the high reſpect and regard which the King bore him, he was created Baron of the iſle of Alderney, Viſcount of Trematon in Cornwall, Earl of Kennington, in Surrey, Marquis of Berkhamſtead in Hertfordſhire; and, on the 15th of July 1726, was created Duke of Cumberland.

In this diſpoſition and with ſuch encouragements he was taken from the women, or rather from the Princeſs of Wales herſelf, and placed under the tuition of Mr. Philips, a man naturally of a good diſpo-

diſpoſition, and endowed with a conſiderable ſtock of the Latin language. The tutor had no leſs authority over his pupil than if he had been the ſon of an ordinary mechanic: for no lady upon earth kept her children under a ſtricter diſcipline and in more ſubjection than did the then Princeſs of Wales. Mr. Philips ſoon found a genius of the firſt order to form, a diſpoſition intirely tractable, and a readineſs to obey, that would have endeared one of a low rank to any who had the care of his education. He ſoon became acquainted with the Latin tongue: he was particularly attentive to ſuch lines as contained precepts of virtue and morality. Among others he became enamoured with this expreſſion:

Omnia ſi perdas, famam ſervare memento.

Strive to deſerve a good and glorious name;
Though all be loſt, preſerve an honeſt fame.

Nor did he only acquire a knowledge in the Latin language beyond what princes generally do, he was committed to the care of Mr. Palairet, for learning the French language, and to write. Under him he ſoon became acquainted with that tongue, ſo as to ſpeak it fluently at the age of twelve years, as he did both the German and the Italian. He greatly delighted in the company of the illuſtrious Sir Iſaac Newton; a man whom the Princeſs honoured much with her converſation, and on whom ſhe beſtowed the elogium uttered by the queen of Sheba with regard to Solomon; *I have* (ſaid ſhe) *at laſt found a man capable of reſolving all my hard queſtions.* His Highneſs read Juſtin and Quintus Curtius with great aſſiduity, and was ſo taken with Ovid's Metamorphoſes, that he could repeat the two incomparable orations of Ajax and Ulyſſes before the chieftains of Greece for the arms of Achilles;

a pro-

a production which Cicero declares to be, in his opinion, infinitely preferable to any thing that ever came from the pen of a Grecian orator, Demoſthenes himſelf not excepted. But this application to the languages did not hinder his purſuing ſuch exerciſes as nature ſeemed principally to have deſigned him for. When but five years old he raiſed a company of young boys, much about his own age, whom he marſhalled and trained up according to the method which at that time appeared to him moſt convenient and ſatisfactory; and being a daily ſpectator of the manœuvres and evolutions of the different corps in the regiments of guards, he, to the aſtoniſhment of all who ſaw him, drew up his little battalion in ſo regular and orderly a manner, that the King his grandfather was delighted therewith, and even diſcovered an unuſual complacency before the foreign ambaſſadors when he ſaw his grandſon appear at the head of his corps within the area of the court at St. James's. His authority among them was every way full and directory: their private quarrels were decided with moderation and temper; virtues intirely ſignificant of true magnanimity. There was no repining at his deciſions; plaintiff and defendant were equally pleaſed. Before he was full eight years old he could manage a horſe; which, with other violent exerciſes that ſeemed to engroſs the moſt of his attention and diſcovered his inclination to war, laid the early foundation of a ſound and vigorous conſtitution, which enabled him to ſupport fatigue to the admiration of thouſands, and which none but himſelf was thought capable to undergo.

Hitherto every thing tended to encourage him, nor was there any interruption to that ſerene tranquillity which had attended him ſince the firſt moment of his coming into the world, till the 20th

of

of March 1727, when the great Sir Iſaac Newton died, to the univerſal regret of thoſe who admired him, loved him, and loſt him His Highneſs appeared troubled, and honoured the funeral of that great man with his preſence.

The loſs of his Grandfather ſoon followed: for his Majeſty had, on the 26th of May 1727, put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament by a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne; in which, after thanking them for their zeal and readineſs in expediting the public buſineſs, he informed them of the ſiege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards; that the Crown of Sweden had acceded to the treaty of Hanover, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Court of Vienna, and that an actual convention had been ſigned between Great Britain, France, and Denmark: and in a particular and lively manner repreſented the abſolute neceſſity of augmenting our marine, and of equipping ſeveral fleets for immediate ſervice. This being over, he, on the 3d of June, after naming the Regency in his abſence, embarked on board the Caroline yacht at Greenwich; and in two days landed at Gravendael, in the province of Holland. Going on board a yacht belonging to the States General, he arrived at Vaert on the 7th, where he reſted that night, and next morning ſet out for Hanover, eſcorted by a party of the Dutch guards, that were ordered to wait upon him during his ſtay in their territory. About eleven o'clock at night of the 9th he came to Delde, and eat pretty heartily at ſupper; but particularly of a melon, which ſeemed not to have been properly prepared. Setting off by three next morning, for Linden, he was attacked by a fit of the cholic ſoon after; but here finding his appetite had failed him, he was blooded: for his great deſire was to arrive in his own dominions; and ſo, contrary to the

the remonſtrance of his friends, he again went into his coach; but, being ſeized with a lethargic diſorder, he dropped his head on the gentleman's breaſt that ſat near him, and ſaid, *It is all over with me.* However the coach proceeded, and he arrived that night at the palace of his brother the Duke of York in Oſnaburgh; where, being again blooded, he was put to bed, and, about one o'clock in the morning of the 11th expired, with little or no ſtruggle, in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, and in the fourteenth of his reign; and was ſucceeded by his only ſon George the IId; who, with his ſpouſe Queen Caroline, was crowned in Weſtminſter Abbey on the 11th of October thereafter.

When the news of the King's death firſt reached Leiceſter-houſe, there was more than an ordinary conſternation, and none appeared more affected than the Duke of Cumberland: the conſideration that this chaſm in the Royal Family paved a way to his own greater dignity, could not make the leaſt impreſſion upon him, or diminiſh that grief which naturally roſe for the unexpected death of the King. He was ſent out of town for ſome time, in order to divert his concern, and did not return till about a week before the coronation of his Royal Parents; when, according to the cuſtom of other Kings, they dined in Weſtminſter-hall, and on the ſubſequent lord mayor's day honoured the city banquet with their preſence.

From this time he became more and more beloved, not only by the King and Queen, but by all the Royal Family, admired by the foreign ambaſſadors, and the delight of the people of Great Britain, whoſe ſatisfaction was enhanced by his being born among them. In ſhort, he increaſed in ſtature and wiſdom, his character daily ſhone with the brighter luſtre, he grew in the eſteem of his pa-

rents, and in favour with the public. On the 18th of May 1730, he was elected a knight companion of the moſt noble order of the garter, and was inſtalled at Windſor on the 13th of June 1731.

His Highneſs, by being a companion of theſe orders, had an opportunity of being better acquainted with thoſe of the ſeveral dignities; and as many of theſe threw up their places in the year 1733, in conſequence of their diſagreement with Sir Robert Walpole about the exciſe ſcheme, ſo he diſcovered a viſible concern at loſing the company of ſome great and illuſtrious perſonages, ſuch as the Earl of Cheſterfield, the Earl of Stair, and ſome others, for whom he had always entertained the higheſt perſonal honour and regard. However, the uneaſineſs ariſing from theſe ſudden changes, which generally prevail at courts, and take their riſe ſometimes from the moſt trivial cauſes, did not hinder his application to the ſciences, and in a particular manner to the ſtudy of geometry; for which ſcience he had diſcovered an uncommon inclination, having heard the Queen converſe with the immortal Sir Iſaac Newton upon the theory of the tides, the nature and cauſe of the winds, monſoons, the path of comets, the nature of light, and the power of refracting teleſcopes, the eclipſes of the ſun and moon, the occultation of the ſtars, the laws and theory of motion and gravity, the figure of the earth, the laws by which the planets were retained and guided in their orbits, the intrinſic value of money: in a word, what nature had before denied to human eyes was diſcovered by the eyes of this great man's underſtanding.

Nature and nature's laws were hid in night.
God ſaid, Let Newton *be, and there was light.*

His

His modeſty and goodneſs of heart added luſtre to that treaſure of divine knowledge which he had acquired by the ſtrength of his genius and the diligence of his application. He eſtabliſhed the truth of revealed religion upon evidence that was irreſiſtible: he formed to the belief of it by converſation and argument, and excited to the practice of its different rules by a ſhining and amiable example. The ſeveral branches of human knowledge were equally familiar to him; and if at any time a gentleman communicated to him a treatiſe upon ſome particular part, to which he had devoted his attention, Sir Iſaac would, upon the peruſal of it, diſcover things that had eſcaped the author, or give hints to a further improvement: this Mr. Mills, the author of the Conic Sections, which goes by his name, experienced, to his great ſatisfaction. Mr. Gregory and Dr. Keil happily experienced the ſame thing.

Fortunate in the company of ſo great a man, his Highneſs applied to the ſtudy of Euclid's Elements, that baſis and foundation of all mathematical learning; and having digeſted the doctrine of plain and ſpherical trigonometry, both of which he underſtood extremely well, he gave his attention to the theory of navigation, and taking the plans of towns; and, having ſtudied the conic ſections, he proceeded to learn fortification and gunnery, all which he underſtood at the age of fifteen years; at which time the preſent Princeſs Dowager of Wales arrived in England, when Prince William, being looked upon as the moſt accompliſhed young gentleman of his age, the admiration of the Royal Family, the ornament of the Court, and to be poſſeſſed of ſo tranſcendent and princely an addreſs, that at the marriage of the Prince of Wales, he

gave the hand of the bride into that of her future conſort.

About this time the Royal Family ſeemed to be divided in their opinion about the bent of the Duke's genius, whether he would be fitter for the ſea or land ſervice. The King intended him for the former, ſince in time he might arrive at the ſtation of lord high admiral of England, as Prince George of Denmark was before. For this purpoſe he viſited Portſmouth and Spithead, went on board the ſhips in the harbour in all the habit of a ſailor, never appearing as one of the Royal Family, in the inſolence of power, but in the mildneſs and moderation of a generous and condeſcending temper: but then he was prevented from following this buſineſs by the death of the Queen, on the 20th of November 1737. Every one was affected with the loſs; the court, the city, the army, the counties and people equally felt it, and equally lamented her death, ſhe being a pattern of virtue both in domeſtic and public life, a mother of her people, brilliant in her character, and glorious in the goodneſs of her heart. She was four times guardian of the realm in the abſence of her Royal Huſband.

The death of the Queen and the peaceable tranquillity of the nation hindered his acting upon the watry element: however, there ſoon happened an occaſion in which he was to diſplay thoſe talents which hitherto were but gueſſed at, and now appeared in all their luſtre and brightneſs. And here it will not be improper to give an account of the riſe of the war 1739: a war which was no leſs ſerious and terrible than the moſt ſanguine that had happened in Europe for many years.

The

The Court of London had by the peace of Utrecht * obtained liberty to ſend an Aſſiento ſhip annually to the Weſt Indies, and the private men on board often carried over ſuch goods as were contraband; complaints were frequently made upon the ſubject; but the enemies of Great Britain, no leſs envious of her welfare than of the tranquillity of Spain, did by every art poſſible blow up the coal of diſſenſion, which at length kindled into an open war between the two powers: it began in America, and ſoon reached to Europe; while peace and tranquillity reigned in the latter, the guarda coſtas in the iſlands of Cuba, Hiſpaniola, and other places of the Weſt Indies, committed depredations of the worſt kind upon the veſſels trading to the Britiſh ſettlements. The firſt ſhip was the Pearl of Kingſton, taken off the Havannah in the month of May 1739; three guarda coſtas attacked her at once, twice boarded her, and were twice repulſed with loſs, and with bloodſhed. A net was ſpread upon the main deck of the Pearl, which twice threw the aſſailants into the ſea; ſome were drowned, and others being taken up, diſcovered the cauſe of their diſaſter. To make ſure of the Pearl they contrived a method of cutting the net, at the very time when they were boarding the veſſel. The crew of the Pearl endeavoured again to throw the aſſailants overboard; but the netting being broken, they were ſeized all at once, as they were bowing down to take hold of the ends thereof. Being overpowered and taken priſoners, they were not treated as by a generous enemy; for after detaining them eight days at ſea, they carried them into the Havannah, which they entered naked as they were born, and there

* 1713.

continued upon a ſhort allowance for ſeven months, when a cartel ſhip arrived, and gave an account of the actual declaration of war.

In every commercial ſtate ſome people deal in illicit goods to the prejudice of the fair trader. The kingdoms of Great Britain and Spain, with their reſpective ſettlements, have ever been overrun with that falſe ſet of men; for they are to be found not only in Europe, but through the whole extent of the Weſt Indies and the Leeward Iſlands, particularly in thoſe of Cuba and Hiſpaniola.

The Engliſh merchants had liberty from the Court of Madrid to ſupply the Spaniſh colonies with negroes purchaſed in Guinea, and other parts of Africa. This negro traffic, which forces the huſband from the arms of his wife, the wife from the embraces of her huſband, and both from their parents and friends, cannot be expected to proceed with a proper regard to juſtice and humanity. Under different pretexts this branch of trade was miſerably perverted and abuſed; by agreement thirty-three piaſters were to be paid to the Spaniſh governor of every place where the ſlaves were ſold, for every one of thoſe that were diſpoſed of. This trade was of ſingular advantage to the South Sea Company, who by the treaty were to furniſh the colonies with four thouſand eight hundred negroes, for whom they pay the thirty-three piaſters *per* head, and for their farther encouragement they obtained a privilege of ſelling eight hundred without any duty; but the greateſt advantage reaped by England above other nations, was the permiſſion granted in the year 1716 of ſending a ſhip annually to Porto Bello on the iſthmus of Panama.

This veſſel, which was to be of no more than five hundred tons, was in 1717, by agreement, raiſed to eight hundred and fifty, though in reality

and

and by abuſe to a thouſand, which could carry two million weight of goods; and theſe were but the leaſt part of that commerce. A pinnace attended the veſſel to carry proviſions to it; and according to ſome was continually going backward and forward, took in loads of goods in the Britiſh colonies, conveyed them to the veſſel, which by this conſtant ſupply anſwered the end of a whole fleet; beſides other veſſels frequently carried goods to the company's ſhip, from whence they returned to the ſeveral ſettlements in America with ſuch commodities as the inhabitants wanted.

The Spaniſh governors, like thoſe of other nations, not always actuated by principles of moderation and lenity, treated the Britiſh traders with rigour and ſeverity, not duly conſidering that there were ſmugglers among themſelves, and that a connivance with theſe was the occaſion of what was complained of. The ſmugglers were ſo faithful to each other, as to agree upon ſignals, which they perfectly well knew; ſometimes the innocent were confounded with the guilty; ſums lawfully due to the former were detained on account of illicit gain made by the latter: and thus the Spaniſh colonies were abuſed by the Engliſh traders, ruined by their own ſmugglers, and cheated out of their ſubſtance by the governors among themſelves.

M. de Voltaire, treating of this ſubject, ſeems to deviate from his uſual politeneſs; a great many Engliſh, ſays he, became pirates with impunity. On the coaſt of Florida they met with ſome Spaniards that were ſounding for ſome galleons that had been ſhipwrecked, and out of whom they had recovered to the amount of 400,000 piaſters; part of the crew were murdered, and the money was ſeized. The Spaniards demanded ſatisfaction for

theſe outrages from the Engliſh governors in thoſe quarters; but the Engliſh freebooters, when they took a Spaniſh veſſel, uſed to ſink it, with all the crew, after they had gutted it, that there might remain no proof of their villainy: at other times they ſold thoſe Spaniards in their own colonies; and when theſe wretches demanded juſtice of the Engliſh governors, thoſe who had ſold them got off, by pretending that from their ſwarthy complexion they had taken them for negroes. The pirates underſtood each other, and divided the ſpoils with the judges, and then gave out that they had been tried by their peers.

The Spaniſh guarda coſtas frequently revenged themſelves of theſe cruel hoſtilities; for taking a great many veſſels, they uſed the crews extremely ill: they were put under the hatches, and laid in irons; carried into the Havannah and other parts naked as they were born, and there confined to a dungeon; out of which hardſhips they were, by the humanity of the natives, partly relieved.

In the mean time negotiations were ſet on foot, both at London and Madrid, for terminating the differences in America. By the convention of Pardo, of the 14th of January 1739, the Court of Spain, upon ballancing accounts with the South Sea Company, engaged to pay them ninety thouſand pounds in four months, reſerving to herſelf a power of making a deduction of what the Company might be indebted to the Spaniards. This became the ſubject of a freſh quarrel, which, with the accounts of private merchants, produced a war, wherein each nation expended a thouſand times more than the demand of either.

During theſe tranſactions one Jenkins, the captain of a veſſel that had been taken, preſented himſelf before the Houſe of Commons in the beginning

ginning of April 1739, with his noſe ſlit, and wanting his ears, that had been cut off. He appeared to be a plain open man, and his condition gaining credit to his words, he aſſerted, that he had carried on no contraband trade, but was taken on the American coaſt by a Spaniſh guarda coſta, whoſe commander ſeized his ſhip, laid the crew in irons, and had left him theſe infamous tokens; "Gentlemen," ſaid he, "after mangling me in "this manner, they threatened to put me to death: "I expected it, and recommended my ſoul to God, "but the revenge of my cauſe to my country." Theſe words, uttered with an emphaſis ſignificant of the man's ſituation and hardſhips, raiſed pity in the whole aſſembly; the citizens of London crowded to ſee Jenkins, and loudly demanded a war.

The Houſe of Commons was greatly divided in their opinions; Sir Robert Walpole and his party were deſirous to reconcile matters; while the oppoſite party, by their harangues, inflamed the minds of the people to ſuch a degree, that a war with Spain was openly and loudly called for, as the moſt advantageous ſtep that could poſſibly then be taken: every wiſe remonſtrance againſt involving two mother countries for the iniquitous practice of ſome ſmugglers at a diſtance, was laughed at and ridiculed. In a word, it was the general opinion that a war with Spain would be advantageous to Great Britain, though now it is found that any rupture between the two crowns is hurtful to the trade and commerce of both in general, and to many rich and opulent cities in particular; for the merchants of both monarchies keep up ſo cloſe a correſpondence even in the time of war, that the Britiſh traders have conſtantly been intereſted in the Spaniſh commerce, while they

they were arming for the deſtruction of that monarchy; ſo that when a Britiſh privateer took a prize, they really plundered their own countrymen.

Never was more eloquence diſplayed than in the ſpeeches made at that time in both Houſes of Parliament, nay, I queſtion if the ſtudied harangues pronounced at Athens and at Rome, upon almoſt ſimilar occaſions, are ſuperior to the extemporaneous diſcourſes of Sir William Wyndham, Lord Carteret, Sir Robert Walpole, the Earl of Cheſterfield, the Duke of Argyle, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Pultney, and Sir William Yonge. Theſe diſcourſes were but the natural effect of that liberty, which the Britiſh nation has been hitherto careful to maintain. It is true, the ſpirit of party runs through them all, and the real ſtate of affairs is generally diſguiſed under the ſhades of eloquence and rhetoric, or by the ſubtlety of argument; for while the miniſterial party repreſented the government in a flouriſhing condition, the patriots affirmed, that the nation was ruined and undone. "Where "are thoſe days," cried a member in the Houſe, "when a miniſter declared, that no power in "Europe ſhould fire a ſingle cannon, without "leave firſt obtained from England." At laſt the voice of the nation ſtifled the arguments of the miniſters of ſtate, and a run of addreſſes from every quarter determined the King; letters of repriſal were delivered out to merchants and privateers, and war was declared againſt Spain Oct. 23, 1739.

At firſt the ſea was the theatre of action, in which the privateers of each nation began to ſeize the merchant ſhips both in Europe and in America, as it were jointly deſtroying that very commerce for which they were fighting; and in a ſhort time proceeded to greater hoſtilities, both ſides being intent

intent to wreck upon the fair trader the vengeance that was due only to a neſt of ſmugglers. Admiral Vernon was ſent to the Weſt Indies with a formidable ſquadron of nine ſhips of the line. He ſet ſail with theſe on the 3d of Auguſt, and by the way of Cape Ortugal, E. of the Groyne, of Madeira and Antigua, he arrived on the 12th of October at Port Royal in Jamaica without any advantage, on account of the poſition of the enemy, whom at that time he could not annoy; however, to keep up the ſpirits of his countrymen, he attempted the conqueſt of Porto Bello, which on the 21ſt of November he effected; but being unable to leave a garriſon in it, he was obliged to return to Jamaica, both to curb the inſolence of the privateers, and for preſerving the health of the land forces, who were daily mouldering away by ſickneſs and fatigue, owing to the change of air, and their own want of experience.

The account of Vernon's ſucceſs at Porto Bello arriving in England created a general joy, as if the harbour there had been the only place of refuge for the Spaniſh privateers, which ſwarmed in thoſe ſeas. The Duke of Cumberland, then in the 18th year of his age, diſcovered an unuſual ſatisfaction, and did not fail, on every occaſion, to expreſs the deep ſenſe he had both of the perſonal valour of Admiral Vernon, and of the mighty action which he atchieved. Indeed men of more experience than his Highneſs were impoſed upon by that paltry conqueſt. The Two Houſes of Parliament congratulated the King upon the ſucceſs, and wrote a letter of thanks to the Admiral; the towns, the cities, the army and the navy, ecchoed his encomium, and the clergy themſelves from their pulpits ſounded the Admiral's applauſe; nay, to ſuch a degree did his fame grow, that they judged

judged him capable of the greateſt atchievements, nay, of working impoſſibilities!

No ſooner came the news of Vernon's having ſailed to lay ſiege to Carthagena in the gulph of Mexico, than preparations were made to celebrate the taking of it; and at the very time when he was raiſing the ſiege, viz. April 1741, after a fruitleſs and ill-conducted attack upon Fort Lazare, entirely owing to a difference ſubſiſting between the Admiral and General Wentworth, a medal was ſtruck in honour of the conqueſt; on one ſide of this imaginary medal were to be ſeen the haven and outworks of the place, with this motto: *He has taken Carthagena.* And on the reverſe was Admiral Vernon, with theſe words: *To the avenger of his country.*

Such imaginary trophies did not fail to excite the diſguſt and obſtinacy of the enemy. Admiral Vernon had in fact done little or nothing, the conqueſt of Porto Bello with ſix ſhips only! might have been effected with the ſixth part of the force, the Spaniſh guarda coſtas multiplied in the Weſt Indies, the Court of Madrid kept rejoicings for no leſs than three ſucceſſive days for the repulſe at Carthagena; their privateers now more than ever infeſted the ports of the Mediterranean and the ocean; and daily captures were carried into Ferrol and St. Sebaſtians. The expedition under Vernon was of infinite loſs to the nation, and our diſaſter before Carthagena, in which 7000 men fell unrevenged, not only eclipſed our glory among foreigners, but raiſed the demand of our enemies, and influenced France to join more openly againſt us; for ſhe ſent a ſtrong ſquadron under the command of the Marquis d'Antin to Martinico, with ſecret orders not only to act in an hoſtile manner

againſt

againſt the ſubjects of Great Britain, either jointly with the Spaniards, or ſeparately by themſelves, but even to concert meaſures with them for attacking Jamaica; and at the ſame time declared, that ſhe could no longer remain an idle ſpectator of the loſſes which Spain ſuſtained in America, where indeed her ruin had been inevitable, provided a good underſtanding had ſubſiſted between the commanders of the different appointments.

The King of Great Britain remonſtrated againſt this armament by his embaſſador at the Court of Verſailles, to whom Cardinal Fleury uſed this expreſſion: "My Lord, there is a difference be-"tween arming and declaring war; it is true, the "King, my maſter, has promiſed a neutrality; "but as unforeſeen accidents may happen, it is "prudent to be prepared againſt all events."

The nation, under theſe circumſtances, was now apprehenſive of a war with France, and began to utter great diſcontent, throwing the blame on the miniſtry for not having more effectually reinforced Vernon, to whom they imputed nothing of the fatal diſaſter, though indeed from his obſtinacy he was the origin and ſpring of *all*, he being "a "man of weak underſtanding, ſtrong prejudices, "boundleſs arrogance, a ſtern look, and over-"bearing paſſions." A powerful fleet of twenty-one ſail of the line and three fireſhips were ordered on a ſecret expedition; from whence great things were expected: Sir John Norris, Admiral of the Red, hoiſted his flag on board the unfortunate Victory of 110 guns*. Many of the firſt quality went on board her, and the Duke of Cumberland embarked as a volunteer; and here he continued from the 1ſt of July till the 18th of

* This ſhip was loſt ſoon after,

September, when he diſembarked at Spithead, but little pleaſed with the paradings of a fleet fitted out at a vaſt expence, and which engroſſed the attention almoſt of all Europe. His Highneſs from this time judged that the ſea would not furniſh ſuch ſcenes of action as the land; and therefore preferring the latter, he followed a military life ever after. Indeed there ſoon opened a ſcene both by land and by water; the armies of France were traverſing from one end of Germany to the other; they had already fixed the Imperial diadem upon the head of the Elector of Bavaria, to the excluſion of the preſent Empreſs Dowager, and in contempt of the Pragmatic Sanction, which confined it to the heirs whatſoever of the Houſe of Auſtria. Several battles had been fought in Bohemia between the Auſtrians and Pruſſians with various ſucceſs, which only tended to bring on further rapine and cruelty. As the ſea-engagement off Toulon was but a ſequel of what happened at Dettingen, it will not be improper to take a view of that war, in which his Highneſs had ſo great and ſo conſiderable a ſhare.

The ſcheme of France was to overturn the Houſe of Auſtria, and to make a partition of her dominions; and the intereſt of Great Britain was to ſave her, and keep them entire. To ſupport the Pragmatic Sanction, the Britiſh and Hanoverian troops were put in motion, the command of which laſt was committed to the Earl of Stair, a nobleman of the greateſt abilities, being no leſs remarkable as a ſoldier than a ſtateſman, and ſkilled in all the arts of command. He had been a Lieutenant-General under the Duke of Marlborough, who was his patron and friend; for at the time of the union of the crowns of England and Scotland, the temporal intereſt of North Britain was in the family

family of Stair. His Lordſhip's uncle was preſident of the Court of Seſſion, the chief places in the Exchequer and Cuſtoms were veſted in the branches of the Dalrymple family, and one of theſe held the office of Lord Advocate, an office of the ſame kind with that of Attorney General.

Under the patronage of Marlborough he was ſent ambaſſador to King Auguſtus on his reaſcending the throne of Poland; he was afterwards diſpatched as ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Court of France upon the peace of Utrecht; by his care, vigilance, and activity, he traverſed all the projects in favour of the Chevalier de St. George; the fame of his negotiations ſounded through Europe, and the magnificent entry which he made into Paris on the acceſſion of the preſent French Monarch to the crown, filled every mouth with admiration and aſtoniſhment; his diſgrace ſince the year 1733, when he reſigned all his places, now tended to make him more conſpicuous; his very actions in private life were like ſo many gems to ſet off the brilliancy of his character; he had improved his eſtate in a very ſingular manner, and had laid out his gardens at Caſtle Kennedy with ſuch elegance and taſte, that they might be ſaid to vye with thoſe of Marli and Verſailles. On his return to court after an abſence of nine years, he became the favourite and admiration of all; the Duke of Cumberland was conſtantly with him, and brought ſeveral of the nobility of the ſame age with himſelf to his Lordſhip's levees.

As this nobleman was a conſummate ſtateſman, an excellent commander, and knew the temper and genius of the principal officers both civil and military in France, ſo he was judged to be the fitteſt perſon not only to perſuade the States General to take part in the war, which ſeemed to be inevitable,

but to command the Britiſh troops, in caſe things ſhould come to an extremity. Accordingly he was ſent over to the Hague, in order to traverſe the negotiations of the Marquis de Fenelon, who was endeavouring to perſuade the States into a neutrality: however, both the French and Britiſh ambaſſadors were unſucceſsful; for the States General would neither openly declare againſt France, nor yet would they embrace a neutrality, though often ſolicited thereto by Mynheer Van Hoey, their ambaſſador at Paris.

During the ſummer of the year 1742, he continued with the troops upon the frontiers of Brabant, and in that time gained ſo much upon the affections of the ſoldiers, that they were ready to march wherever he ſhould be pleaſed to direct them. It was this nobleman's talent to ſhine among the great, but to familiarize himſelf with thoſe of an inferior ſtation; an enemy to whatever was ungenerous and oppreſſive, he rectified an abuſe which procured him univerſal reſpect and ſatisfaction: the horſes dung, which before him had been the perquiſite of the commanding officers, was now appropriated for the uſe of the private men; and though he had an offer of any regiment, yet he preferred the Iniſkilling dragoons as a corps of worth and high reputation, and who had ſtood by him both at the battles of Ramillies and Malplaquet. Indeed his Lordſhip's choice was commendable, as by it he ſhewed ſteadineſs of temper, and a diſpoſition not ſubject to change; he had built barracks for them near his reſidence in the ſhire of Galloway; he furniſhed the horſes of the private men with hay and ſtabling at the moderate rate of two ſhillings *per* week through the year; the officers dined daily with him, a dozen at a time by rotation; and no dragoon or private

man

man ever came to his houſe without being hoſpitably and chearfully entertained; and what was ſtill more encouraging, he gave eight pence *per diem* to above 300 of the private men, whom he employed in fencing his parks, cutting ditches, and laying out his incloſures. Happy for the Duke of Cumberland to learn the firſt rudiments of the art of war under the eye of ſo diſtinguiſhed and ſo great a commander, who ſoon had an opportunity given him of ſhewing theſe great abilities with which the world had hitherto confeſſed him to be endowed.

The Marſhal Duke de Noailles, a nobleman of the firſt rank in France, and one of her moſt experienced commanders, was in the neighbourhood of Aſchaffenberg, upon the Maine, with an army of 80,000 men, the flower of three armies *, already deſtroyed by the ſword, by famine, and fatigue. The march of the troops was a point of delicacy: Marſhal Noailles wanted to hinder the junction of the Heſſians with the Engliſh, and Lord Stair was deſirous to effect it. For doing this he cauſed them to march in the night-time; to ſet out about the duſk of the evening, and not to halt till next morning about ſun-riſe. The generals and private men were equally anxious to know the place where they were to halt, and where they were intended; and yet ſuch was their confidence in the ſuperior underſtanding of their leader, that none of them ever complained. However at laſt Sir Philip Honeywood, general of foot, ventured to aſk the Earl, where was the intended place of halting? "Can you," ſaid his Lordſhip,

* One commanded by M. Maillebois, which marched into Hanover; one by M. Broglio, which took the rout of Heſſe; and the third by the Duke de Belleiſle, which had deſolated Bohemia, and almoſt laid waſte the city of Prague.

"keep a ſecret, Sir Philip?" "As well," replied Sir Philip, "as any man living." "Upon "my word," ſaid his Lordſhip, "and ſo can I." And thus Sir Philip retired, without any other ſatisfaction but that of mutual compliments.

By this march, which marked a ſuperiority of ſkill and genius, he reached Aſchaffenberg time enough to join the King, who was juſt come from Hanover, attended by ſeveral general officers, among whom was the Duke of Cumberland, who then ranked as a major general. The Duke of Noailles was willing to prevent their junction with the Heſſians, and to cut off their proviſions; which laſt was effected: for he drew ſo near the town, that nothing could go out or into it, on account of his patroling parties, and to croſs over the ſtone bridge at Aſchaffenburgh was prepoſterous, and giving the enemy a viſible advantage. Indeed the concern for the troops prompted Lord Stair to croſs the river with a party, in order to view the poſition of the enemy: however, he had almoſt fallen into their hands: for a party of men came out of an avenue, where they were lying in ambuſh, and fired upon the party attending his lordſhip, whoſe hat was ſhot through, and fell from him: his party retired, and the enemy did not think fit to purſue.

During the ſtay of the troops here, an exact diſcipline was obſerved among them, and the troops both of Great Britain and Hanover were brought, from the example of their officers, to treat each other with confidence and humanity. The intention of the French general was to cut off the proviſions of the allies, and to waſte and conſume them in a country where they could not get ſupplies. The Earl of Stair ſaw into the extent of his views, and took his meaſures accordingly: and indeed

indeed the more circumſpection was neceſſary on his part, as the Britiſh army was in general compoſed of men, the fortieth part of whom had never ſeen an engagement; nor indeed was he much better off with reſpect to his generals, many of whom had rather roſe by a parliamentary intereſt, than by merit, and on account of their experience: however he had ſome very able and diſtinguiſhed commanders. Such as the generals Clayton and Campbell, Sir Philip Honeywood and the Earl of Crawford. The Hanoverians were not more experienced: the only corps of veterans conſiſted of 3000 Auſtrians, lately arrived.

But it was not ſo with the troops of the enemy; for during the years 1741 and 1743 many of them had ſerved in Italy and upon the Rhine, many of them had ſerved in the Ottoman army againſt the Germans and Ruſſians, and lately carried arms among the troops of Pruſſia: ſome had fought at the battle of Czaſlow, when the Pruſſian monarch defeated the Auſtrians under Prince Charles of Lorrain, after an obſtinate reſiſtance: many of the regiments of the Duke de Noailles' army had ſerved at the battle of Frauenberg, between Prince Lobkowitz and the Marſhals Belleiſle and Broglio, in which battle the Auſtrians indeed quitted the field, but left the enemy no great room for triumph. Their chief engineers, and many belonging to the train of artillery, had been active in the remarkable ſiege and blockade of Prague; others were preſent at the ſiege of Egra, and in many ſkirmiſhes that had happened in Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate: the taking and re-taking of towns on the Inn, the Iſer, and the Danube had likewiſe furniſhed them with opportunities of learning the arts and ſtratagems of war. In a word, the whole French army conſiſted of veterans, who knew the

whole art of their calling, and glowed with a general's love of conqueſt; and in point of experience were greatly ſuperior to the confederates: who yet dreaded nothing while under the direction of Lord Stair, and were ſoon to fight under the eye of the Britiſh monarch. However, the two armies did not come to an engagement till the 27th of June, when the great abilities of each commander ſhone with a particular luſtre, the ſoldiers exerting all their courage, the officers all their ſkill, and the whole their zeal and affection to thoſe by whom they were employed.

On the morning of that day did the allied army march from Aſchaffenberg, without beat of drum, ſound of trumpet, or any other ceremony that could give intelligence of their decampment; nor did the bulk of the general officers know where they were to halt: that was a ſecret intirely confined to the breaſt of the King, the Earl of Stair, the Duke d'Aremberg*, and Count Nieperg: every thing was done with ſecrecy and addreſs. The Duke d'Ayen, ſon to the Marſhal de Noailles, was the firſt to advertiſe his father of the rout of the enemy; and he, immediately getting up, drew up the diſpoſition of his troops, and appointed the place both of their croſſing the Mayne and of the place where they were to draw up in order to wait for the confederates; and this they could eaſily do without being obſerved.

It was an aſtoniſhment to the army of the allies when firſt they ſaw the enemy, or rather when they heard the firſt report of the great guns from the oppoſite ſhore of the Mayne, which was lined with batteries, in order to fire upon them during their

* He had an army of 3000 men belonging to the Queen of Hungary.

march.

march. The diſpoſition made by Marſhal Noailles is cried up as one of the fineſt ever plan'd by a general: the flower of the troops were poſted on the bank of an hollow way, over which the allies muſt neceſſarily paſs; and theſe were ſupported with batteries of cannon of the largeſt bore, loaded with grape ſhot. The Duke de Peſguier, who carried the art of an engineer to its utmoſt perfection, ordered a battery of twelve guns to be planted at the head of the hollow way, in order to enfilade the troops at the time they were engaged with the forces placed in the front: wherever there was the leaſt interruption of the bank in the hollow way, the opening was joined by a redan, and fortified with artillery. By ſeven in the morning every thing was ready, and the whole ſnares were prepared. The Duke de Grammont, nephew to the Marſhal de Noailles, and who lately eſpouſed his daughter, was placed at the head of this formidable body, with expreſs orders not to ſtir from his ſtation; and in the mean time the Marſhal retired to the other ſide of the river, in order to draw another party of his troops toward Aſchaffenberg, and which might march after the confederates, who in that event would be between two fires, and whoſe ruin ſeemed to be inevitable. Experience, numbers, and the uſe of arms were on the ſide of the French, nor were they inferior in point of courage and intrepidity.

Never was an army in a more critical ſituation than was that of the confederates; they wanted proviſion: the flower of the French, ſupported by a numerous artillery in their front, an hollow way to paſs, at the head of which was a large battery, lay before them; the Mayne was on their left, whoſe oppoſite banks were lined with artillery; on their rear ſtood Aſchaffenberg, now in poſſeſſion

of the enemy, who were marching after them; and on their right lay vaſt and extended woods, where no proviſion could be got either for men or for horſe: every thing wore a gloomy aſpect, and the French generals reckoned the ruin of the confederates to be inevitable: ſo that their deliverance from ſo impending a danger, which no leſs than threatened the perſonal liberty of a King of Great Britain and his Son, with the intire ruin and deſtruction of a whole army, may be reckoned one of the moſt ſurpriſing events to be found upon record, either in the annals of this or of any other country.

No ſooner had the King and Earl of Stair a view of the poſition of the enemy, than they rightly judged their plan of operation: to defeat which was a point of delicacy, and required all the art that could be thought of either by prudence or circumſpection. The Duke d'Aremberg, at the head of the Hungarians, with Marſhal Nieperg, formed one line, with the Britiſh infantry, who were placed on the left of the river, where the greateſt danger was apprehended, and almoſt oppoſite to the gens d'armes and the black muſquetaires of France; and to animate the whole, the King rode along the lines, with his wonted ſedateneſs. At the head of the Britiſh troops in the lines, was placed old general Clayton, an officer of long experience, having ſerved at the battle of Almanza in the year 1707; the Duke of Cumberland, as major-general, ſerved under him: the generals Honeywood and Campbell were at the head of the ſecond line; and the cavalry brought up the rear. The Earl of Stair, who knew the temper and genius of the French nation, gueſſed rightly at the enemy's deſign, and therefore ordered the Britiſh troops to advance, with a battery of cannon in their

their front, in order to ſilence thoſe of the French, which were now beginning to play. Fortunately for him Clayton was an officer of experience, and literally obeyed his orders. The cannonading began with fury, and rather increaſed than diminiſhed: Grammont every moment expected the confederates to paſs the hollow way, when he was juſt ready to begin the carnage; and the Earl of Stair was determined rather to try a paſſage through a part of the woods in the night-time than to croſs the hollow way, in the face of a numerous artillery: or rather he rightly conjectured, that the impatience of the French generals would bring them over to him. His Lordſhip's ſentiments were juſt. The Duke de Grammont advanced at the head of the gens d'armes and the black muſquetaires, in a menacing poſture, with their ſwords in their hands. The Earl of Stair gave orders not to fire till the colour of the eyes of the enemy could be diſtinguiſhed: and in this he was partly obeyed; though indeed ſome regiments fired too ſoon, and at too great a diſtance: an inconvenience productive of miſchief to thoſe who had committed the raſhneſs; for the enemy marched up with great impetuoſity, and almoſt fired full into the faces of thoſe who were oppoſite to them: and thus the firing of the ſmall arms begun upon the right, but had not as yet extended along the line, nor yet had become general. By this time the gens d'armes and the black muſquetaires were juſt come up to General Clayton's diviſion, where they halted a little, and each ſeemed to pauſe on ſeeing the order and regularity of the corps whom they were to attack. All at once the Duke de Grammont cracked his whip, which was the ſignal agreed on, and the cavalry broke in as to a fold with great impetuoſity, and with uncommon courage and re-

ſolution rode through the ranks; who, according to orders, had opened from right to left, the better to annoy them. This ſudden ſhock proved fatal to the wing that broke in; the allied troops faced about from every quarter, and poured in their ſhot upon the enemy; and ſuch as were neareſt the horſes pierced their ſides with their bayonets, and brought them to the ground, which was ſoon covered with a promiſcuous carnage. The black muſquetaires of France detached themſelves from thoſe with whom they were united, and galloped full along the lines of the confederates, perhaps with a view to divert their attention from annoying the Gens d'Armes, whoſe ruin and deſtruction now appeared viſible; for almoſt the whole were either killed or taken priſoners: among which laſt was a ſon of the Marquis de Fenelon, who was ſeized in the laſt rank of the regiment of Greys. And now the action became general: the firing began from right to left through the whole line: the enemy's batteries were either ſilenced by a more numerous artillery, or ceaſed of themſelves, for fear of hurting their own men. The Earl of Stair appeared in the thickeſt places of the firing: in the very heat of the engagement he came to the right, immediately behind the regiment of guards, and looked with as much compoſure as if he was hearing an account of ſome friend; he ſat about two minutes upon horſeback, and in a liſtening poſture: all at once he diſappeared with his aids de camp, and on a full ſtretch galloped toward the left, into the midſt of the firing, which every moment increaſed. The French raiſed ſeveral huzzas, and were anſwered as they deſerved, ſometimes by one corps, ſometimes by another. "Come," ſays his Lordſhip, with as much compoſure as if he had been

been at an entertainment, "drop your huzzas for "a few moments; but when I give the ſignal let "the huzza be general through the line, and my "life for it the victory is ours." The aid de camps immediately communicated the orders; and in about three minutes his Lordſhip took off his hat, waved it in the air, and ſo the huzza begun, and continued with great loudneſs. "If," ſaid his Lordſhip, taking a hearty laugh, "I cannot beat "them by firing, I ſhall beat them by huzzaing." A vigorous fire, well levelled and full, was poured in upon them: and his Majeſty obſerving an eminence convenient for placing a battery of cannon, ſeven field pieces were planted upon it, which being diſcharged into the midſt of the French ranks, at a time when they expected no ſuch thing, they began to give ground, and retreat; ſome over the river, ſome croſs the hollow way, where they were cut down with a terrible ſlaughter; and one of the bridges having broke down, the carnage was ſtill the more conſiderable.

Such was the event of the battle of Dettingen, in which the French loſt 7000 men, beſides 2500 priſoners, with a great many wounded; among whom was the Duke d'Ayen, Marſhal Noailles's own ſon; the Duke de Rochefoucault, and many other general officers. On the ſide of the allies were killed about 2500, among whom was the brave General Clayton, and many wounded. The Duke of Cumberland received a ball in the calf of his left leg, which when the ſurgeon began to dreſs, he ſaid, "Dreſs that man's wounds" (pointing to a French officer) "for he needs more to be ſym-"pathized with than I do;" the Duke d'Aremberg was wounded in the breaſt, with ſeveral other officers. All being over, the King dined upon a

cold roaſted ſhoulder of mutton * under a tree, while the Earl of Stair, judging no time to be loſt, repaired to the place appointed; but before leaving the field, he wrote a letter to the Marſhal Duke de Noailles, in which he informed him, that a number of priſoners having fallen into his hands, they ſhould be taken ſingular care of, until exchanged or ranſomed, and in the mean time recommended the wounded to his protection and generoſity. The letter being ſent off, the troops moved toward Hanau, the place of their firſt deſtination, and arrived about one next morning, greatly fatigued with the battle and the journey, and mightily jaded with an heavy rain, which, from the time they quitted Dettingen, poured down inceſſantly upon them.

The field being clear, the French general ordered a party to paſs over next day to take care of the wounded; thoſe of the allies and their own ſoldiers were equally regarded. Marſhal Noailles gave preciſe orders as to that particular, which when Lord Stair heard, he wrote him a letter of thanks, in which were theſe very words among other polite expreſſions: "I return you my moſt "ſincere and hearty thanks for the care that has "been taken of the wounded among the allies, "and ſhall be ſure to teſtify my regard on every "occaſion; but indeed ſo generous a conduct was "only agreeable to the ſentiments of honour, "which I ever entertained of the politeneſs and "humanity of the Duke de Noailles." Theſe two great commanders now endeavoured to outſtrip each other in point of ſympathy, no leſs than they had formerly in point of ſkill, aſſiduity, and conduct. Stair cauſed the priſoners to be properly

* Shoulder of mutton roaſted was a favourite diſh of King George II.

taken

taken care of, and to be well uſed; he knew many of the officers and their relations while at Paris, and having given them inſtances both of his generoſity and tenderneſs, he ſent them back upon their parole; for as there was no actual declaration of war betwixt Great Britain and France, both the King and the Britiſh general thought it moſt adviſeable to ſend back a number of troops, who could only weaken them by eating up the proviſions of the army, now increaſed by an addition of 12000 men.

But while the confederates were rejoicing for the ſignal deliverance they had met with, the troops of France were murmuring for their diſappointment, in proportion to the ſanguine hopes they had entertained. Every body charged the Duke de Grammont with diſobeying orders, and imputed to him the loſs of the battle; only the Duke de Noailles ſaid nothing againſt him; and though robbed of the glory of as fine a diſpoſition as ever was made by a General, and which at once might have put an end to the war, he accuſed nobody, he complained of nobody, but barely contented himſelf with writing a long and elegant letter to the French monarch, in which he inſiſted on the abſolute neceſſity of keeping up a ſtrict and regular diſcipline among the troops.

The End of the FIRST BOOK.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

BOOK II.

CONTENTS.

An Account of the Earl of Stair's *leaving the Army,—the Intrigues of the Court of* France,—*the Arrival of the Chevalier at* Dunkirk,—*the Duke of* Cumberland's *Advancement, and the Campaign in* 1744,—*Character of Count* Saxe *and Count* Lowendahl,—*the caſe of Marſhal* de Belleiſle, *and the melancholy Death of the Emperor* Charles VII.

THE confederates, by their victory at Dettingen, and junction with the Heſſians, were now in a condition to aſſiſt their friends, and preſcribe laws to their enemies: they had profited by the miſtakes of the Duke de Grammont, and now had only to improve the victory in a manner ſuitable to the addreſs and conduct with which they obtained it: however, from ſome diſagreement among

among the commanders, it was not improved properly. Inſtead of marching directly for Francfort, and ſeizing the Emperor, and the regalia of the empire, they continued hovering about Hanau in a ſtate of inactivity; and even at this time the ſuperiority of the Earl of Stair's conduct and ſagacity appeared in its luſtre; for profiting by the example of the armies of France, who mouldered away inſenſibly, in conſequence of their being crammed together in ſmall towns and villages, or the German ſtoves, he took care to have the troops cantoned in the adjacent country, where they might lie comfortably, ſuffer nothing from the foulneſs of the air, nor from the nauſeous ſtench that might be occaſioned from a multitude; or, in other words, care was taken to preſerve them from diſtempers, occaſioned by contagion and infection; and the ſerjeants had particular orders to examine narrowly into the ſtate and condition of the ſoldiers under their immediate inſpection, and to report the ſame to the General officers. The clean were ſeparated from the unclean, and all were properly encamped. In the mean time the officers both of the Confederate and French armies had an opportunity of taking a party of pleaſure into different places of the country, and many of them repaired to Francfort, a neutral city, where they had an opportunity of ſeeing the new Emperor, who had retired thither. Among theſe commanders were the Marſhal de Noailles, and the Earl of Stair, who had occaſion to ſee him, and to obſerve a diſtinguiſhed patience under the moſt cruel mortifications; his hereditary dominions being laid waſte by the Pandours, Sclavonians, and other Auſtrian irregulars; the armies of his allies being waſted and conſumed by the patience, addreſs, and courage of his enemies, he himſelf deſerted

by

by Broglio's army, which defended his capital, and at laſt reduced to the miſerable ſituation of having neither money nor credit to ſupport a brilliancy of grandeur, which this gaudy pomp of his new titles would require.

Every thing looked diſmal on his ſide; he was without money, without credit, and without friends; experience had ſhewn him that nothing was to be expected from any junction with the armies of France; Marſhal Broglio and Count Seckendorff ſcarcely agreed in any one article or plan of operation, and the inferior officers, both French and Bavarians, were daily fighting duels, and engaging with each other in ſingle combat. The French troops were ſo diminiſhed by ſickneſs and deſertion, or ſo reduced by the ſword and by famine, that inſtead of entertaining thoughts of carrying him in triumph to Vienna or Prague, they found themſelves obliged to return, in order to defend the frontiers of France againſt two armies, one commanded by Prince Charles of Lorrain, and the other by the King of Great Britain, and both of them victorious. In three campaigns the French had ſent above 120,000 men into Bavaria and Bohemia to the Emperor's aſſiſtance, and of theſe only one fourth part returned with M. de Broglio, who, on the repeated complaints of his Imperial Majeſty, was ſent into baniſhment. A poor ſatisfaction indeed to a man, whoſe country was, for want of good troops and ſtrong towns, rendered deſolate by a devouring and irregular enemy.

The Earl of Stair, who certainly had the glory of his country always in his eye, penetrated into the real ſtate both of the Emperor and of France, and judged it expedient to avail himſelf thereof; for this purpoſe he propoſed a plan of operation, which he laid before the King his Maſter, but ſub-

ſubmitted it to the peruſal of none other. The plan was for returning a ſecond time upon Marſhal Noailles' army before it was replaced with recruits, and after this, marching over the Rhine, and carrying the war into the enemy's dominions. In this he adopted the opinion of the Carthaginian general; and rightly judging that the power of France could never be totally aboliſhed by victories and conqueſts over them in another country, he propoſed to transfer the theatre of action within her own dominions.

Whatever regard his Majeſty King George had for the opinion and ſentiments of the Earl of Stair, yet he thought the affair too ſerious to be entered upon without further deliberation, and conſulting the other generals. Accordingly he called the Hanoverian and Britiſh generals together, to his own head-quarters, where the queſtion was debated in his preſence, and where the officers gave their opinions freely and without reſerve. The moſt part of the Britiſh officers were of the Earl of Stair's opinion: they were for improving the victory, and for paſſing directly the frontiers of France. The Duke of Cumberland was no leſs deſirous of this than Lord Stair himſelf; and, tho' naturally baſhful in ſpeaking, as the ſons of Mars generally are, yet he ſpoke ſome minutes upon the ſubject with uncommon ſagacity and judgment. However, the Auſtrian, the Hanoverian, and Heſſian generals were of different ſentiments, and their opinion prevailed: a circumſtance extremely fortunate for France, as at that time ſhe lay open almoſt on every ſide to the invaſion of a victorious enemy.

Theſe diſputes, which in a manner ſaved France, ſoon occaſioned a real concern in the whole confederate army, but particularly among the Britiſh troops on account of their loſs of the Earl of Stair, who,

who, in Auguſt after the battle, quitted his command. So much was that nobleman reſpected and beloved, that a mutiny was apprehended; and the more ſo as the private men and inferior officers could but ſhrewdly gueſs at ſo ſudden a reſolution. His Lordſhip's talent was impenetrable ſecrecy. The wife of his boſom, tho' a lady of the greateſt honour and true generoſity of heart, knew no more of his Lordſhip's ſecrets than the child that was unborn; and he laid it down as a maxim never to conſult a general, other than by a general converſation, except in the caſe of an extremity. He only told his ſecrets to a pug dog, which he named Walpole, and to him in a familiar way he ſaid, as he was going up ſtairs to bed; "Ah, Walpole," ſnapping his fingers, "you and I ſhall not be in-"timate for the future: you take too much the "advice of the Hanoverian generals, and theſe "are not maſters of their buſineſs." He went that night to bed, and the next morning (viz. Auguſt 16th) ſet off for Worms, leaving a line to his Majeſty; in which, after wiſhing him all poſſible ſucceſs in his undertakings, and a happy iſſue out of all his troubles, he informed him, that he intended to repair to his plough. His baggage was ſold off, and he himſelf repaired to the Hague; where in a formal ſpeech, at his audience of leave, he informed their High Mightineſſes of the particular regard which he ever bore to their Republic in general, and to the ſeveral members in particular whereof it was compoſed. However, one ſignificant expreſſion dropt from him, which diſcovered the cauſe of his appearing there at that time: "It is but natural that Sovereigns ſhould employ "ſuch as are moſt agreeable to them."

The removal of the Earl of Stair was not more melancholy to the confederates, than it was fortu-

nate

hate for the affairs of France; whoſe miniſtry now began to take freſh meaſures for embarraſſing their enemies: a war with Great Britain was evidently foreſeen; and the King of Sardinia was expected to join therein. In a word, France was ſoon to be attacked by the forces of Auſtria, of Great Britain, of Holland, and of Savoy. To oppoſe which confederacy Louis XV. ordered ſeveral men of war to be fitted out at Breſt; and, having time to breathe, he increaſed his land forces, and ſent about twelve thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of Don Philip, third ſon to the King of Spain, and who then commanded an army for the defence of the Milaneſe and the Mantuan. To encourage his troops he prepared to head them in perſon; and, to hurt his enemies the more ſenſibly, he had recourſe to the ſame expedient which his great grandfather had in the midſt of his greateſt extremity.

The Pretender to the Crown of England had ever ſince the deceaſe of James II. at St. Germains, anno 1701, had his eye upon the Britiſh throne, and oftener than once had attempted the recovery of it. No leſs than three different trials were made in his favour: the firſt in the year 1707, when, by the vigilance of the Britiſh fleet, the whole ſquadron from Dunkirk was either diſperſed or taken: the ſecond was in the year 1715, when a very formidable army was muſtered, conſiſting of the moſt valiant and brave among the Highlanders, who have always been looked upon as a martial people; and were at that time conducted by officers of reputation and addreſs, many of them having ſerved in the Britiſh, the Dutch, the French, the Swediſh, and the Ruſſian armies: a third was in the year 1719, when they were ſuppreſſed by General Wightman, at Glenſhiel. 'Tis ſurprizing that the Duke of Berwick, a general of great re-

putation in France, in Spain, and in Italy, ſhould not have aſſiſted him, or have appeared in his favour, if he really thought him to be the ſon of King James. The unhappy fugitive had watched every opportunity, but never appeared properly in the field. It was in conſequence of his being acknowledged King of England by the Courts of Verſailles and Madrid that he eſpouſed Princeſs Clementina, grand daughter of John Sobieſki, King of Poland, by whom he had two ſons; whoſe courage and great accompliſhments his friends did not fail to propagate through Britain and Ireland. The eldeſt, named Charles, and who was born the 20th of December 1720, was honoured as Prince of Wales by the Pope and the people of Rome from his infancy: the Court of France caſt her eye upon him, as one fit for ſerving her purpoſe: ſome of the diſaffected in Great Britain and Ireland ſoothed his hopes, and no leſs than ſeven perſons * entered into an aſſociation for bringing him in, and had already applied to the Court of France for aſſiſtance. The Grand Monarch ſent them word, that he had their King's intereſt as much at heart as they had: the Cardinal de Fleury applauded the ſcheme, but heſitated about the method of putting it in practice. For his Eminence eaſily foreſeeing a war, only wanted to make uſe of the Chevalier on a more proper and critical occaſion: for this purpoſe he ſtrove to gain time, and artfully inſinuated, that a body of Swedes, as being proteſtants, were more likely to win upon the people of Great Britain than any corps of Roman Catholics whatever. Indeed the ſcheme was laid with great ſecrecy and addreſs: 1500 men were to land at Inverneſs, and

* James Drummond, commonly called Duke of Perth, Simon Lord Lovat, Donald Cameron of Lochiel, William Drummond of Bochaldee, &c.

to

to be joined by the clan of the Frazers, and ſuch others as Lord Lovat, by force, inſinuation, and ſubtilty, could procure. The like number was to land in the Weſt Highlands, near the Iſle of Mull, and to be joined by the Camerons, the Macdonalds, and other poor ignorant people in thoſe remote places. All of theſe were to join and march ſouthward, while a body of 14 or 15,000 were to land upon the coaſt of Kent, and as near the city of London as poſſible. The conſpirators were ſanguine in the matter; and yet the backwardneſs of the Earl Marſhal to enter into any ſcheme with Lord Lovat, together with a ſuggeſtion of the Cardinal only delayed the execution of it; and the Cardinal dying in the beginning of the year 1743, made it intirely drop, till a more convenient ſeaſon. The battle of Dettingen was no very favourable incident, and yet it did not a little contribute to ſpur on the Court of France to ſupply the Adventurer; whom two things tended ſtill to animate the more: the diſguſt taken by the Earl of Stair, at not being allowed an abſolute diſcretionary power, and the death of John Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, were motives not to defer any longer: his imagination ſuggeſted no difficulty; though every day the government was more firmly eſtabliſhed, and the Royal Family became daily more endearing than ever: Great Britain and Ireland reſounded with the elogium of their Monarch, the Royal Family was yearly increaſing, the then Prince of Wales behaved in ſuch a manner as every day to procure the greater veneration and regard: the fame of the Duke of Cumberland reached to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; the enemies of his family could hot help admiring his courage and magnanimity: he was on the field of battle created one of the Knight Bannerets; and in the

December following was made colonel of the firſt regiment of guards. There was a perfect good underſtanding between the King and the Privy Council: the Parliament was hearty in granting ſuch ſupplies as might protect the trade of the ſubject, and aſſert the dignity of the crown. There was indeed ſome jars among the miniſtry, as generally happen in all limited monarchies, each ſide deſiring to be uppermoſt; but both were equally intereſted for their Sovereign's cauſe.

One would have thought that ſuch unfavourable circumſtances would have preponderated. John Murray of Broughton, who was afterward ſecretary to the young Chevalier, remonſtrated againſt his making any attempt, whether ſecret or open, until a more conſiderable number of friends could be brought over; but all to no purpoſe: he was determined to try the fortune of war. His Father had given him a charte blanche to act as he pleaſed, and he ſigned a commiſſion of regency on the 23d of December that year.

Having obtained this appointment he ſet out from Rome on the 9th of January 1744, without communicating his intentions. On the 13th he arrived at Genoa, in the diſguiſe of a Spaniſh courtier; and next day, being attended by a ſingle domeſtic, he embarked for Antibes, and ſoon arrived at Paris.

The Court of France obſerved a profound ſilence in the whole affair, even in the midſt of the greateſt preparations to convey him to the Engliſh coaſt. No leſs than twenty-ſix men of war had been equipped at Rochfort and Breſt, without a ſingle officer belonging to their admiralty knowing or imagining their deſtination: and, to cover the real deſign the more, a report was ſpread, that the ſquadron was intended to force a paſſage through the ſtraits

of

of Gibraltar, and to join the Spaniſh fleet at Toulon; where the Engliſh ſquadron, under Admiral Matthews, had blocked it up. In the mean time twenty ſhips of war, having on board four thouſand land forces, with arms and ammunition, looſed from Breſt, and ſoon arrived between the iſles of Uſhant and Sorlingues, where they were joined by five more from the port of Rochfort.

This formidable fleet entered the Britiſh channel, and divided into three ſquadrons; the ſtrongeſt, which conſiſted of fourteen ſhips, ſailed with a fair wind toward Sandwich on the coaſt of Kent; the ſecond took its ſtation between Calais and Boulogne; and the third proceeded toward Dunkirk. Count Saxe, a natural ſon of Auguſtus I. King of Poland, and who had learnt his firſt rudiments in the art of war at the battle of Gadebuſh, anno 1712, was the officer appointed to command that expedition. On the 1ſt of March he embarked at Dunkirk with nine battalions, and the next day M. de Chaila went on board with ſix more.

The adventurer was in the ſame ſhip with Count Saxe, when for the firſt time he beheld the coaſt of England, which the pilot reckoned to reach in about eight hours; but a ſudden ſtorm ariſing, and the wind chopping about, the tranſports ran foul of each other; they were thrown upon the French ſhore, where a great many ſoldiers were drowned in attempting to land from them. Such as ſurvived were much diſheartened with the diſaſter, and ſome even conſtrued it as ominous of what afterward enſued; only the Chevalier himſelf was ſteady and undaunted: his ambition would not let him balance things in a proper manner; he frequently declared that he would try his fortune, though unattended and alone. In this flattering himſelf that the Engliſh would be captivated

vated with his perſon, which his friends gave out to be ſo noble and majeſtic, that he wanted nothing to be admired, but to be ſeen; nothing to be joined by numbers, but to ſet up his ſtandard. Indeed, had the troops been landed while our forces were abroad, the country would have been put into very great confuſion; the ſea only hindered the execution of his hazardous project; and in the interim an account of the expedition had been received at London almoſt about the time when the troops were embarking at Dunkirk.

The King of Great Britain communicated his intelligence to both Houſes of Parliament, where the ſame occaſioned an uncommon aſtoniſhment and ſurprize, which they expreſſed in their loyal addreſſes, and a full promiſe of ſtanding by him with their lives and fortunes; they even extended the act of the 2d of King William, and the 2d of George I. making it high treaſon to correſpond with the Pretender, to have any connection or correſpondence with the ſon, and paſſed an act, making it high treaſon for either to land in Britain, or any of the dominions thereunto belonging: every perſon began to arm, and to diſcover their loyalty; the throne was crowded with addreſſes from every quarter; the militia were armed; and every thing was put in the beſt poſture of defence.

It was ſurprizing that the authors of a conſpiracy, to overturn ſo mild and eaſy a government, were not inſtantly detected; ſome indeed were taken up, but they knew nothing of the matter; and ſuch of them as lived in the remote parts of the Highlands of Scotland were ſcarcely ſuſpected. Lord Lovat, the ſpring and primum mobile of all, kept fair with the government, even when

when ſpiriting up the Highlanders to rebel, and firing them into the exerciſe of arms.

The year 1744 was productive of as great events through Europe, as any of the preceding. The combined fleets of France and Spain were defeated off Toulon by the Britiſh fleet commanded by Admiral Matthews; an event which determined the French King, without any further ceremony, to declare war on the 15th of March, both againſt Great Britain and Hanover, and on the 26th of April againſt the Queen of Hungary herſelf. The arms of France forced a paſſage over the Alps into Italy under the Prince of Conti, to join the troops of Spain and Naples againſt thoſe of the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia, who now had joined openly with her. The marches and countermarches of the reſpective forces of theſe ſeveral powers only tended to ſhew the ſkill and addreſs of the commanding officers, but not to put an end to the war, which they rather fomented by deſolating the fine valleys of the country, and living upon the rich and opulent cities at free quarter. Great Britain and France, without heſitation or reſerve, ſquandered their money in ſupporting the powers at war; the one by her fleets, the other by her fleets and armies together: nor did the miſchief ſtop here; for the flames of war continued to rage in Germany with more fierceneſs and violence than ever.

The crown of Great Britain exerted herſelf with uncommon vigour; ſhe augmented her ſubſidies, and raiſed no leſs than 12,498,055l. for the ſervice of that year: her fleet in the Mediterranean ruined the trade of Provence, and hindered the French troops from infeſting the coaſt: the troops which fought at Dettingen were recalled back to Flanders, and theſe being joined to the Flemiſh and Dutch

regiments, formed at the opening of the campaign an army of about 60,000 men, commanded by Field Marſhal Wade, an old officer, bred under the Duke of Marlborough, and well acquainted with every part of Flanders: he was a ſanguine man, eaſily provoked, violent in his paſſions, and addicted to revenge. The Duke d'Aremberg had the command of the Queen of Hungary's troops; he was a pupil of Prince Eugene, ſerved under him againſt the Turks and French, and contributed not a little to the ſucceſs at the battles of Belgrade and Dettingen, and in both was wounded. The Dutch were commanded by Count Maurice of Naſſau, a deſcendant of the celebrated Prince Maurice of Naſſau, one of the three brothers, to whom the United Provinces were indebted for their grandeur and liberty.

The French King was reſolved to make the campaign in perſon, and choſe to appear in Flanders with Marſhal Noailles, rather than in Alſace among the troops commanded by Marſhal Saxe, or upon the Rhine, where Marſhal Coigni defended the paſſage of that river againſt Prince Charles of Lorrain with an army of ſixty-one battalions, and one hundred ſquadrons: he judged that in the two laſt, the war would only be defenſive, whereas every thing was diſpoſed for making it offenſive in the Auſtrian Netherlands; but in this he was miſtaken, for it raged with uncommon violence every where. The paſſing of the Rhine by Prince Charles was the occaſion of two battles and two ſieges, in which was ſpilt a deluge of blood; Alſace was ruined by the Bavarians, the French, and the Auſtrians in their turn; and in Flanders the towns of Ypres, Menin, Chartray, and Friburg, ſucceſſively fell into the hands of the French, the Confederates not being able to oppoſe them.

This

This inability did not proceed from a want of power, but from a want of harmony between the generals; the Duke d'Aremberg judged himſelf ſuperior to Marſhal Wade, in conſequence of being more nobly deſcended; the Dutch were actually temporizing, and many of the States having large eſtates in France, were afraid to provoke the Grand Monarch; add to this, that General Wade was no favourite with the ſoldiers, in every thing the reverſe of the Earl of Stair, whoſe liberality was not inferior to his valour, and whoſe coolneſs and experience the armies both of France and of the Confederates ſufficiently knew. In ſhort, the allied army this campaign fought no battle; on the contrary, they were the unconcerned ſpectators of one place after another falling into the hands of the enemy, whoſe King, from many popular acts, ſuch as raiſing the pay of the private men, taking care that they ſhould eat as good bread as what he himſelf uſed at his own table, became ſo reſpected and beloved, that they wanted nothing but orders to enter upon the moſt difficult plans of operation under his direction and command. His new acquiſition of ſtrength by the King of Pruſſia declaring once more in his favour, with ſome late ſucceſſes obtained by the Infant Don Philip and the Prince of Conti in Italy, tended ſtill more to encourage the armies and people of France, whoſe affection to their monarchs has been always remarkable, though never more conſpicuous than now.

The King of Great Britain, from his uſual penetration and ſagacity, eaſily foreſaw that a general of Marſhal Wade's complexion and character was unfit to command a body of troops that were to be employed againſt an army under the direction of a Prince, who was adored by his ſubjects. His late

late recovery from a dangerous fever, which at once threw the whole kingdom into tears, now raiſed their thankfulneſs and gratitude; and his carrying the Dauphin tended to endear him the more.

The ſeveral armies of France were at that time commanded by the ableſt generals, who had no emulation, but that of outdoing each other in the ſervice of their King. The inhabitants along the Rhine and in Alſace were more in the French intereſt than in that of the Auſtrians, or any other among the confederate powers. Every body of their forces was a corps of veterans, to whom the moſt public-ſpirited of every nation reſorted, in order to learn the art of war.

But of theſe different armies, none was better appointed than that which the King himſelf honoured with his preſence; the command of it was given to Count Maurice of Saxony, who about this time was created a Marſhal of France; the King's aid de camps were moſtly general officers, who had headed armies, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the field; the Marſhal de Noailles, the Duke de Richlieu, and the Duke de Boufflers, were among the number of theſe; the bulk of the French army was made up of the flower of the national troops of France, or of the choice bodies of foot and horſe raiſed in foreign countries; the three regiments of Royal Suedois, each conſiſting of 1200 men, were complete, as were the Swiſs guards, and the Iriſh brigades, then making a body of 8000 men among the beſt diſciplined and moſt formidable troops in Europe; the Scots regiments were full, and Marſhal Saxe had with him a corps of 3000 men, choſen from the chief families in Saxony, remarkable for tallneſs, and ſkilled in the whole art of war; ſome Danes came over with

Count

Count Lowendahl, natural brother to Chriſtian VI. of Denmark.

This Count Lowendahl had been trained up to war from his youth, the firſt rudiments of which he learnt at the battle of Helſinburgh, where General Count Stembock cut the Daniſh armies to pieces in the year 1711; he likewiſe witneſſed the various ſcenes and operations that happened in the year 1717, when Charles the XIIth had the pleaſing triumph, in the midſt of his misfortunes, of ſeeing the fleets of four nations ſheering off, without daring to make a deſcent upon Schonen, where he lay with an army ready to receive them. He went afterward into the Muſcovite ſervice, where he took Oczakow, and by a cloſe application to literature, he acquired a thorough knowledge of the Latin, French, Spaniſh, and Italian tongues; and having become a great proficient in offenſive and defenſive fortification, he thought proper to offer his aſſiſtance in the ſervice of France, where he was received with open arms, and where from the ſuperiority of his character he was admitted to the rank of a Lieutenant-General; and Europe itſelf has heard with aſtoniſhment of the rapidity and glory of his conqueſts.

Such was the French army that was to oppoſe the Confederates; and to make them ſtill more formidable, they were ſupported by a numerous train of artillery, conducted by a corps of no leſs than 5000 men, many of whom underſtood the practice of gunnery, and moſt of the private men were either ſmiths, maſons, braziers, or founders, trades extremely neceſſary toward working of guns, and executing the practical parts of fortification.

It was indeed a difficult taſk to find out a General capable of dealing with the enemy, when ſupported with ſuch uncommon advantages, and under the eye

eye of their ſovereign: no Britiſh General was thought equal to it, except the Earl of Stair, and he was diſguſted. It is true, that in February 1744, he went to court on hearing of an invaſion from Dunkirk, and was created Field Marſhal of all the forces in England; but he did not chuſe to go abroad, unleſs with an unlimited command. In this ſituation of affairs the Duke of Cumberland was thought of, as the moſt popular among the ſoldiers, and the moſt likely to compoſe any difference that might happen between the Auſtrian officers and thoſe of the States General; however, he was not all at once named, for the armies on both ſides were in their winter-quarters.

The reſolution of declaring him Captain General being taken, and communicated to him by the King, he applied more than ever to the ſtudy of ſuch things as were moſt likely to qualify him for the high and important charge. His guardian, Stephen Poyntz, has more than once declared, that when he had the honour to call upon him, which he had full liberty to do every day, he always found his Highneſs buſied in ſome thing or other belonging to the military ſphere. Sometimes a map of Flanders, or a plan of ſome important fortreſs, lay upon the table, and immediately before him; at another time Monſieur Vauban's Fortification, at a third the Chevalier Folard's Commentaries on Polybius, at a fourth the Military Hiſtory of Charles XIIth, of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough. Every officer from the colonel to the enſign had ready acceſs to his Highneſs: he threw himſelf in the way of the ſoldiers; and if at any time he ſaw them hovering about, he himſelf would ſpeak to them. He frequented Woolwich and St. James's Park: in the former of which he viewed the artillery, and was preſent

preſent at all the experiments; and in the latter he delighted in ſeeing the ſoldiers muſtered, and go through the ſeveral evolutions of the military exerciſe. By theſe and ſuch other methods he became a proficient in the art of war, and ſo well acquainted with Flanders, that he almoſt knew every ſingle village and rivulet in any of her provinces. He likewiſe endeavoured to get all poſſible intelligence from ſuch foreign ſoldiers as were in England; which ſoon happened to his wiſh, in conſequence of Marſhal Belleiſle's arrival there.

That brave officer had been ſeized by an Hanoverian bailiff or magiſtrate at an inn, juſt as he and his brother were changing horſes at a borough called Elbingrode. The domeſtics of the two brothers endeavoured to reſcue them, but in vain; for the bailiff got aſſiſtance in a moment, and, being a man of reſolution, he took care to have them conducted to an inn, where, notwithſtanding the politeneſs with which they were treated, yet they were taken ſuch care of, that an eſcape was impracticable. An account of the affair coming to London, orders were ſent for bringing the Marſhal to England: where he was treated with all imaginable reſpect, had the palace of Windſor aſſigned for his reſidence, and had eighty pounds a day appropriated to ſupport his dignity. The Court of France complained of this ſtep as a violation of the law of nations, of the privilege of ambaſſadors, and of the conſtitution of the empire, he being a prince thereof, and actually an embaſſador to the Emperor and to the Court of Pruſſia at the time when he was taken. Many memorials were preſented upon it, and the perſon of the ambaſſador was required, as ſacred; but theſe were anſwered with clearneſs

clearneſs and preciſion. It was urged, that the Duke de Belleiſle was a priſoner, as being taken on the territory of a Prince againſt whom his maſter, the French King, had actually declared war, both as King of England and Elector of Hanover; that he carried on the war with rigour and ſeverity againſt their ally the Queen of Hungary, whoſe ſtates he had deſolated, and whoſe beautiful city of Prague had been ruined and depopulated by his means: that according to themſelves he was, when taken, going in quality of embaſſador from one of the Queen's enemies to another; and it would be ſtrange to ſcreen a perſon who had ſo notoriouſly fought againſt the friends of England and Hanover, under the ſpecious pretence of being a prince of the empire, whoſe ſtates he was inſtrumental in throwing into the moſt terrible convulſions: that in quality of a prince of the empire he muſt be looked on as a priſoner of ſtate, and in quality of a Marſhal of France he muſt be conſidered as a priſoner of war. As to the place of his confinement, it was no matter whether the ſame was to be in Hanover, in England, or in the dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria. He was in reality an officer and ſubject of a prince who aimed at the deſtruction of theſe, and who in any event had made a wrong choice to fix upon a prince of the empire, as an engine to ſet her in a flame. In this caſe the opinion of Grotius and other civilians might be advanced: but I don't chuſe to dwell further on a ſubject already ſo much exhauſted. However, I cannot but acknowledge my regret in being obliged to differ in the whole of this affair from M. de Voltaire's opinion: for whom, on account of the generoſity of his ſentiments, and the unbounded goodneſs of his heart, I have for a long time

entertained the utmoſt perſonal honour and regard.

But while the Courts of Verſailles and London were carrying on a paper war about the law of nations, Marſhal Belleiſle was regaled in England; where nothing was omitted that might alleviate his ſituation. He was ſhewn the paintings at Hampton Court and at St. James's; the tombs in Weſtminſter Abbey, the yard and dock at Woolwich, and the very curioſities in the Tower. He was entertained and regaled by many of the nobility, ſuch as the Dukes of Portland and St. Albans, and by Archibald late Duke of Argyle; and ſeemed to delight much in the company of this laſt nobleman; who, being of a turn of mind like the Marſhal himſelf, entertained an equal veneration for him. They diſcourſed by an interpreter upon the arts of modelling, of gunnery and fortification. The Duke ſhewed the Marſhal ſeveral models of his own contrivance, watches and clocks of his own conſtruction and make: and, as the Duke de Belleiſle ſupported academies at Vernon, in Normandy, for improving in all theſe different branches of knowledge, it was no wonder that two ſuch gteat and illuſtrious ſouls turned to each other as it were by inſtinct; ſhould demand a quick alliance, and burn with a reciprocal friendſhip. Happy for his Royal Highneſs; he delighted always in the company of the learned, and never appeared better pleaſed than when returning from the converſation of two ſuch great and eminent perſons.

The time drew near when he was to croſs over into Flanders, and to take upon him the command of the army there. He was on the 20th of March declared Generaliſſimo, and next day took the oaths requiſite in the Houſe of Peers to qualify himſelf for

for ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſtation; which being over, he embarked at Graveſend on the 4th of April, and landing at Helvoetſluys on the 6th, he proceeded to join the Confederate army, which then appeared to be in high ſpirits, and to be properly appointed. The ſeveral regiments were complete; for the towns and villages in Great Britain had increaſed greatly during ſo long a peace, that the demand for peopling our colonies in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies was not ſo loud, as it has been ſince that period, ſo it was eaſy to recruit the troops out of theſe; for no ſooner did the young men hear that his Royal Highneſs was to have the command of the army, than they run at the tuck of the drum, and proffered their ſervice. The old Marſhal Konigſegg was at the head of the Auſtrians, and Prince Waldeck commanded the troops of the States General.

No ſooner did his Royal Highneſs appear among them, than the whole army, Auſtrians, Engliſh, and Dutch, raiſed the loudeſt acclamations and huzzas. He was on horſeback, mounted on a fine Yorkſhire hunter, which added to the dazzling ſplendor in which he appeared, not in the gaudy foppery of dreſs and coſtly attire, but in the amiable gentleneſs of a ſerene compoſure, that was legible in every feature of his countenance.

Here he learnt that the French army was already in the field; that the command thereof was given to Count Saxe in preference to the Marſhals of France, notwithſtanding they were natives of that kingdom, and older officers than he. Such a conduct did not proceed from any ſuperior merit in Marſhal Saxe, but from a ſuperſtitious notion that no French General had been fortunate againſt the Confederates during the laſt war of Louis XIV.

Marſhal

Marſhal Saxe being fixed in the command, did every thing in his power to cheriſh the good opinion which his new maſter had formed of him on account of his ſervices, which, for the laſt three years and an half, he had been continually doing for the glory and intereſt of France, and for promoting the advancement of Charles Albert Elector of Bavaria to the Imperial diadem.

In the month of November 1741, he joined the French army, then under the Elector of Bavaria, in its way to Prague, the capital of Bohemia, and was the firſt to ſcale the town. In this perſonal act of valour, ſufficient to give the world an exalted opinion of his bravery, he ſet an example to the troops of Saxony, then conſiſting of 20,000 men, and under his immediate command. He was in the fiftieth year of his age, a time moſt fit for a General to exert himſelf, as being in the meridian of his genius, though not of his bodily ſtrength, which an irregular and intemperate manner of living had greatly impaired. Indeed he was naturally given to amours; his father the King of Poland was, for his amours and gallantries, remarkable all over Europe, and his mother the Counteſs of Koningſmark, a Swede by birth, was no leſs conſpicuous. This commander, who, before his conſtitution was broke, poſſeſſed the ſame extraordinary ſtrength of body as his father, the ſame gentleneſs of diſpoſition, an equal generoſity of heart, and the ſame innate valour, was ſtill more accompliſhed and ſkilful. From his reputation, and the intereſt of his father, he had been choſen Duke of Courland by the unanimous voice of the nation; but Ruſſia having deprived him of the benefit of this election, he comforted himſelf for his loſs in the ſervice of France, and

in the ſocial pleaſures of that nation, to whom his merit and perſonal accompliſhments were not as yet ſufficiently known; he had indeed proffered his ſervice to Great Britain, but Sir Robert Walpole did not think fit to accept thereof. His underſtanding was quick and piercing, and his words were ſubſtantial and ſignificant; for being one day accuſed by ſome perſons about the King of Pruſſia of having entered into one of theſe trifling quarrels, which generally ſet the commanders of allied armies at variance, he contented himſelf with this reply to the charge, "Thoſe who know me will "allow, that I am much fitter to enter the liſts "with an enemy, than to ſpin an intrigue."

He had preſerved the dignity of his reputation and character both in Alſace and Flanders, where during the laſt year he had covered the ſieges of the ſeveral towns and citadels that had been conquered by the armies of France; he reduced old Marſhal Wade to ſuch difficulties, that he knew not what to do, outwitting him almoſt in every motion which he made. The ſtudy of war had engroſſed his attention, even in times of peace; to a profound theory he added great practical knowledge; he was poſſeſſed of the moſt brilliant and diſtinguiſhing qualifications that can in any way conſtitute a General, ſuch as patience, wiſdom, vigilance, ſecrecy, the art of knowing properly when to poſtpone, and when to execute a project. From an uncommon quickneſs of apprehenſion, he could diſcern things all at once; his preſence of mind and wonderful foreſight were ſo perſpicuous and diſtinguiſhing, that he was never at a loſs for reſources, even in times of the greateſt calamity and diſtreſs. The officers moſt acceptable to him were thoſe of the ſame diſpo-

ſition and character; a ſpirit of affection and zeal was from him communicated to the inferior officers, and from theſe transfuſed into the minds of the private men, many of whom were irritated on account of the miſeries of the late Emperor to exert themſelves both to revenge his cataſtrophe, and to conquer the Engliſh army, which, if once done, their imagination ſuggeſted that there ſoon would be an end of the war.

That Prince, the ſport of fortune, and the engine of France to ſet the empire in flames, was, about the latter end of the year 1744, become ſtill more unfortunate. Happy before his connection with the Court of Verſailles, his diſmal ſituation roſe only from the time of his elevation to the Imperial throne; nature had even been more unkind to him than fortune; a complication of acute diſorders filled his days with bitterneſs, and at laſt carried him to his grave; he had the gout and ſtone at the ſame time; his ſufferings, and the loſſes daily ſuſtained by his ſubjects, made his maladies return with redoubled fury upon him, for he died at Munich at the age of forty-ſeven years and an half, at a time when he was neglected and deſpiſed in the empire, except by the King of Pruſſia, who was his ally from no other motive, but on account of an innate hatred to the Houſe of Auſtria, and his having received lately one million four hundred thouſand florins from the Court of Verſailles. He was purſued by Prince Charles of Lorrain, and died, apprehenſive leſt the Queen of Hungary ſhould again compel him to leave his capital. His caſe, however, may be a leſſon to Princes, not to aſpire at a throne upon the ſtrength of another potentate, and may convince them, that the higheſt degree of human grandeur

may lead to the utmoſt pitch of infelicity. From the opening of his body, in which his lungs, his liver, and his ſtomach, were found to be mortified, it was concluded by his phyſicians, that he muſt for ſome months have lived in continual pain.

The death of the Emperor did not more whet the reſentment of the French and Bavarians, than it excited the indignation of the Houſe of Auſtria, and her allies, who now plainly ſaw, that the intention of France was only to deſolate the other ſtates of the Empire and of Flanders by a deſtructive war, as they had already done by the Electorate of Bavaria. The moſt Chriſtian King had even ſome difficulty to find out a candidate to ſupply the late Emperor's room; he could not with any degree of honour proffer the Empire to the young Elector of Bavaria, he being then but ſeventeen years old: he therefore caſt his eyes upon the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony; but he refuſed it, from the conſideration of his being unable to ſuſtain at one and the ſame time the weight of the Poliſh and Imperial diadems. The example of the Elector of Bavaria confirmed him in the maxim, "not to loſe certainty for hope;" for as he was not powerful enough of himſelf, to carry his point againſt the Great Duke of Tuſcany, he might ſoon be driven like the laſt Emperor from his capital. He abſolutely refuſed the proffer, and joined in a cloſer alliance than ever with Great Britain, and the Queen of Hungary, whoſe huſband's claim upon the Imperial throne he now favoured as much as before he had endeavoured to divert it.

Never was greater emulation among two contending armies, than between the forces commanded by Marſhal Saxe, and thoſe under the command

command of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland. They prepared againſt each other with uncommon addreſs and endeavour, as the individuals of either army thought that on the event of a battle the fate of their reſpective Sovereigns, their own future repoſe and tranquillity, with the ſafety of their wives, their children, their country, and their all depended; and this prepared a way for freſh and uncommon adventures.

The End of the SECOND BOOK.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

BOOK III.

CONTENTS.

The French *King joins the Army in* Flanders,—*the Battle of* Fontenoy, *with the Surrender of* Tournay,—*the perſonal Accompliſhments and Character of the Earl of* Cheſterfield.

LOUIS the XVth, commonly called Louis le Bien Aimé, having reſolved to finiſh the conqueſts in Flanders, ſet out on the 6th of May from Paris, and that night arriving at Douay, he received, juſt as he was going to bed, a courier from Marſhal Saxe, informing him that the Confederate army was approaching, and would ſoon be in ſight; and though this intelligence was ill founded, as the Allied army lay ſafe at Moulbray till the 9th, yet it tended to promote that alert-

neſs

neſs and ſpirit, which would ſoon become ſo neceſſary.

The French Monarch, who had the cauſe in which he was engaged no leſs at heart than his own perſonal character and reputation, which ſo much depended upon the iſſue of the enſuing campaign, ſaid to the officers and aids de camp, "There "ſhall be no time loſt; I will ſet out to morrow "morning at five o'clock, but do not diſturb the "Dauphin."

The next morning he ſet out by five, and arrived toward two in the afternoon at Pont-a-Chin near the Scheld, within reach of the line of circumvallation formed about Tournay. The Dauphin, who had been apprized, was there in time, and attended his father when he went to reconnoitre the ground deſigned for the field of battle. As they paſſed along the lines the air reſounded the joyful acclamations of the ſoldiers, who now became more animated than ever; many of them had been ſome way or other perſonally known to him during the campaign of laſt year; and in a particular manner the engineers, and thoſe belonging to the artillery: however, his preſence did not more encourage his own troops, than it fired the forces of the Allies into a deſire of coming to blows. The States General, though frequently ſlow in their operations, were yet the firſt to give orders for an engagement. Tournay, one of the eyes of France, and which contained a garriſon of 12000 men, was in danger of falling into the hands of an enemy, who looked upon the ſame as his property. The other generals were for delivering Tournay, and ſo the operations proceeded; and what not a little tended toward determining the Duke of Cumberland, was the intelligence which he procured of the ſtrength and ſituation of the enemy, not only from deſerters,

whoſe information is frequently falſe, but from gentlemen of real honour and integrity.

Among the different perſons who undertook the arduous taſk of a ſpy, none executed their commiſſion with more addreſs, and real advantage, than William Earl of Hume, and Captain Andrew Robinſon, then Colonel of the Grenadier company in the third regiment of guards; the latter was a man of learning and ability; he had been bred up in the literary way, and by being a travelling governor, acquired ſuch a competent knowledge of the French tongue, as to ſpeak it fluently; he was likewiſe well acquainted with Brabant and Flanders, and from converſing with old ſuttlers, he knew particularly the method of acting in that character; his countenance was far from being agreeable, and his perſon ſeemed to be much like that of a Brabanter, meagre, hollow, and diſtorted, and yet he was about this very time near being detected. Happily for him the ſerjeant on duty was an Engliſhman, and a deſerter; he obſerved the ginman with his caſk of gin, and wrangling with ſome ſoldiers about the quantity they had taken, and for which they had not properly paid; the man's heart was touched with compaſſion. A report that a ſpy was in the camp now circulated among them; the ſoldiers threatened to confine him to the main guard, and to have him brought before a commanding officer. The ginman ſeemed to conſent; in which caſe his fate would have been inevitable. While in this ſituation, the ſerjeant aſſured them, that he was a poor countryman, ſervant to a boor, and who had for many years ſold gin through the provinces of Holland and Weſt Frizeland, and deſired he might be let go. The men were perſuaded, and agreed to the propoſal; they left him and the ſerjeant together, when

when the latter informed him, that he knew him perfectly well; that he was Captain of the Grenadier company, and begged of him to make the beſt of his way to the camp. "But pray," continued he, "think on me when you ſhall be ſafe "in the Allied army; for my misfortune happened "in conſequence of the ſeverity of a ſuperior "officer, and a youthful amour; and if you can "aſſure me of being welcome to my former ap-"pointment, I ſhall quit this ſervice the firſt op-"portunity, and give his Royal Highneſs the beſt "information in my power *." All of which was agreed to, and in time was punctually fulfilled; and ſo grateful was the Captain, afterward General Robinſon, that he allowed the man four ſhillings a week ſo long as he lived. The Earl of Hume was indeed more fortunate, notwithſtanding his face, his perſon, and his make, were entirely Engliſh, and that he wore an artificial dreſs; among which a pretended beard, the better to diſguiſe him. He was indeed a hero, a nobleman in every reſpect; his aſpect was comely and noble, his perſon graceful and amiable, and his qualifications as a ſoldier were in every reſpect unqueſtionable and great.

In conſequence of the moſt ſure and undoubted intelligence, the Confederate army marched the 9th from Moulbray, and encamped that evening with the right at Boſignies, and the left at Moulbray, within a little more than muſket ſhot of the advanced poſts of the enemy.

His Royal Highneſs, with ſome other Generals, went directly to obſerve their poſition, and advanced ſo far, as eaſily to diſcern ſeveral of their ſquadrons, which were ſeparated from the Con-

* He had gone through ſuch another adventure a little before the battle of Dettingen.

federate

federates by a country divided by a little rivulet on the left thereof; and by underwood, copſes, and hedges, which they had filled with their Pandours and Graffins, ſupported by ſeveral little ſquadrons drawn up on a plain, which roſe by an eaſy aſcent to within a little diſtance of their camp, which was ſituated at the top of that riſing, beginning at Antoin, leaving the village of Fontenoy in their front, and extending itſelf toward their left near a large wood, which lay beyond the village of Vezon towards the center of the right of the Allies. This village was alſo poſſeſſed by the enemy, and covered by ſmall ſquadrons placed at ſhort diſtances from each other.

As it was impracticable to get into the plain, which lay between the French camp and the defiles, without firſt driving the out-parties from all their little poſts, it was reſolved to put off the attempt till next morning. Accordingly on the 10th ſix battalions and twelve ſquadrons, with 500 pioneers, ſix pieces of cannon, and two haubitzers, were commanded from each wing for this ſervice, which was performed with great eaſe, the enemy having been driven every where to the very top of the riſing near their camp, where they were drawn up in one body, as well to cover the diſpoſitions making behind that eminence, as to obſerve the motions of the Confederates. His Royal Highneſs, the Marſhal, and the Prince of Waldeck, rode into the plain, and after examining the ground, they brought back the troops to the camp in the evening; and in the mean time left ſtrong detachments at the poſts that had been taken, and which might facilitate the attack which was reſolved on next morning. As the engagement at Fontenoy cannot be reckoned ſo much a battle, as the ſtorming of a camp or a citadel, ſo it will not be improper

proper to take a view of what the enemy were doing, in order to fortify themſelves within theſe devouring incloſures, where it is to be obſerved, that the preſence of their King was of the utmoſt importance to them; for on the evening before he diſcovered an unuſual chearfulneſs and gaiety, and the converſation turning upon the battles at which the Kings of France had been preſent, he ſaid, "That ſince the battle of Poictiers*, no King of "France had his ſon with him in an engagement; "that none of them had ever gained a ſignal vic- "tory over the Engliſh, and he hoped to be the "firſt." And indeed to obtain it nothing was left undone that poſſibly could be effected; every height was fortified, and the ground where the battle was expected to happen was encircled with batteries. All which muſt be reduced, or at leaſt ſilenced, before the Confederate army could come to blows with the French, who were all night working upon their entrenchments, and wherever the ground was level, they either cut ditches croſs it, or joined the villages between which the open ground lay with redans of earth, and theſe were fortified with cannon. Marſhal Noailles himſelf directed ſome of theſe; three redoubts were raiſed on the level ground interjacent between Fontenoy and Antoin, and theſe were furniſhed with three batteries of cannon, one of eight pieces, the other two of four; and beſides theſe precautions, a maſked battery of ſix ſixteen pounders, was planted ſo as to take in flank any enemy that might attack the village of Antoin.

There was a piece of ground about three quarters of a mile long, which had a gentle aſcent between the woods of Barri and Fontenoy, and this

* The place where Edward the Black Prince took King John and his ſon priſoners.

was

was flanked by a ſtrong redoubt at the verge of the former of theſe, and on which the guns were fixed in embrazures; another was planted at the extremity of the village of the latter, and in ſuch a manner as to form a croſs fire ſufficient to ſtop the efforts of the moſt intrepid enemy.

If the Confederates ſhould attempt to paſs through the wood of Barri, they would have met with another redoubt furniſhed with cannon; if they made a greater circuit they had entrenchments to force, and muſt have been expoſed to two batteries that had been fixed on the high road to Leuze. Thus was the ground on every ſide turned to the beſt advantage poſſible; every redoubt and every battery was properly ſupported by troops, who knew their buſineſs, and were well acquainted with war. About one hundred pieces of cannon were planted upon theſe different redoubts and batteries, and M. d'Argenſon himſelf, with M. de Saxe, viſited them, to ſee that they were in good order, and if all had arrived.

With reſpect to the poſition of the French troops beginning from the bridge of Calonne, where the King and Dauphin were ſtationed, there was no one part left naked. The infantry were in the front, the horſe in the ſecond line, and the gens d'armes and carabineers were ſtationed behind the corps of reſerve. This was a new practice of Marſhal Saxe recommended by Chevalier Folard, to ſecrete from an aſſailant's view ſuch troops as are moſt famed for bravery, againſt whom every enemy directs the flower of their own forces.

Such was the diſpoſition of the French army, and ſuch was the ſpirit of the combatants of which it was compoſed; and now the hour was approaching when the fate of Europe itſelf was to be determined: for had the French King been defeated

the

the ſiege of Tournay would infallibly be raiſed, and perhaps the troops of France would have inſenſibly mouldered away; her allies would have receded from their engagements, and probably turned their arms againſt her: whereas if the Confederates were repulſed, it would be no more than a diſappointment eaſily to be compenſated by the treaſure of Great Britain and Holland, and by the numerous ſwarms of ſoldiers to be found in the hereditary dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria.

On the 11th of May, N. S. his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland put himſelf at the head of the Engliſh and Hanoverians about two o'clock in the morning; and when near the Wood of Barri he halted a little, ſat on horſeback, and ſaw the troops paſs before him. He appeared extremely ſedate and compoſed, ſmoothed ſome of them upon the ſhoulder, and ſaid, "Theſe men look very "well, and ſeem extremely fitted for the buſineſs "on which they are to go." Here he was informed, that there was a fort * mounted with cannon, in which 5 or 600 men might be lodged, and which might annoy the troops greatly if they advanced. Without heſitating a moment he ordered Brigadier General Ingolſby with four battalions, among whom was the regiment of Highlanders, and with theſe four pieces of cannon, ſix pounders, to attack the ſame ſword in hand, whilſt the Prince of Waldeck, with the Dutch troops, ſhould attack the village of Fontenoi, as he had undertaken to do.

The battalions advanced with ſpirit, and the Highlanders run up to the very mouth of the cannon with incredible ſwiftneſs; but, to their aſtoniſhment, they found the place moated round. There

* This was the fort d'Eu, ſo called from the corps that defended it.

was

was a ſmall cauſeway, about ſix feet broad, which they crowded upon to croſs over; but in their way the cannon on the rampart were levelled againſt them, and they were obliged to retire, with the loſs of 1 captain and 1 enſign, with 30 private men, killed; 1 captain, 2 enſigns, 2 ſerjeants, and 86 private men, wounded; 1 ſerjeant and 12 private men taken priſoners. The other battalions, diſheartened by the fate of this reſolute corps, retired without attempting any thing further. This unfortunate beginning did not in the leaſt alter the plan that had been laid down. The cannon of the Engliſh and Hanoverians were placed in ſuch a manner as to anſwer the fire from the different batteries of the enemy, and ſome moved forward with the lines as they advanced. By one of theſe batteries the firſt redoubt of the Wood of Barri was ſilenced, a regiment of the French guards put into great diſorder, and their colonel, the Duke de Grammont, was killed by a cannon ball of three pounds, which ſtruck his horſe in the ſhoulder. Count Lowendahl, who was near him, was in an inſtant covered with blood; a piece of fleſh, which flew off with the ſhot, fell into his boot. "Have "a care," ſaid the Count to the Duke, "your "horſe is killed:" "And I too," replied the other; and ſo expired. The cannonading continued on both ſides till eight in the morning with great vivacity, and the Engliſh troops ſeemed to be gaining ground: they encompaſſed the village of Fontenoy, and attacked it on every quarter: they even threw ſome bombs into it; one of which fell before the Marſhal Saxe, juſt as he was ſpeaking to Count Lowendahl.

The Dutch troops advanced afterward towards Antoin, and the two attacks were equally well ſupported: and though the flying batteries of the enemy

enemy were ſilenced, yet thoſe in the redoubts continued to play with great execution and briſkneſs. The Britiſh troops were thrice obliged to give over the attack at Fontenoy, and the Dutch were forced twice to retire from before Antoin. At the ſecond attack almoſt a whole Dutch ſquadron was ſwept away, there being only fifteen men left: from which time the forces under Prince Waldeck acted but faintly, and at a diſtance. However, the Britiſh ardour increaſed with the danger: they not only attacked Fontenoy, but likewiſe a redoubt near a place called The juſtice of the lady in the wood, near which the French King and his Son ſtood, ſurrounded by the aids de camp, and attended by about 120 men for a guard. The Britiſh cannon played briſkly on this redoubt, and the ſhot from the ſmall arms reached beyond it: a domeſtic of the Count d'Argenſon having been wounded in the forehead by a muſket-ball a conſiderable way behind the King; who, having his eye every where, gave orders that the villages which were attacked ſhould be properly ſupported: for, after directing ſome regiments to move towards Fontenoy, and to play upon the flank of the troops which attacked it, he himſelf moved towards the ſide of Antoin, at the very time when the Duch were renewing the attack upon it. The cannon balls fell round him and the Dauphin; an officer, named M. d'Arbaud, was covered with dirt from the rebounding of a ball, and the King himſelf, with thoſe about him, were daubed therewith. He only fell a-laughing, and ſaid to the colonel of the artillery, "Put "up theſe balls, and ſend them back to the enemy: "I will have nothing belonging to them." His orders were obeyed; and ſoon the Dutch began to ſlacken their fire and to retire.

Things

Things continued in this ſituation till about half an hour paſt ten o'clock, when the Duke of Cumberland took the reſolution of forcing his way betweeu the reboubts of Barri and Fontenoy, which was ſcarce a full mile over. In this attempt he had a deep hollow way to paſs, expoſed to the fire of the redoubts, and on the other ſide of the hollow way was the French army. How unfortunate for him that the redoubt attacked by General Ingolſby had not been carried! as in that caſe the fire on its ramparts would have been turned againſt the enemy, and have facilitated the advancing of their own men into the field. But notwithſtanding this, his Royal Highneſs put himſelf at the head of the Britiſh and Hanoverian troops, having under him Lieutenant General Sir John Ligonier, the Earl of Albemarle, Lieutenant Generals Howard, Durour, and Handaſyde. The firſt three were upon the right, and the ſecond on the left of the line, well ſupplied with cannon, which they dragged along with them; but not with horſe or dragoons; as there was not room to march them: and, to encourage the troops ſtill more, the Earl of Crawford was chief Aid de camp and Lieutenant General of the day.

One cannot without being moved conceive an army of brave men (about 30,000) marching between two devouring batteries, which kept an inceſſant fire upon them, and galled their flanks in a terrible manner, whole ranks dropping down to the right and left: however the cannon which they brought with them anſwered briſkly in their turn; they preſſed forward, ſtill filling up their ranks; and, wedged in the firmeſt array, they paſſed the hollow way without being diſordered.

They were formed in three lines, each of them four men deep; and in this poſture advanced boldly,

ly, with ſix field pieces in their front, and ſix more in the middle of their lines; they were now advanced to within 150 yards of the left of the enemy, where were placed four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiſs guards at their left, the regiments of Courten and Albeterre to their right, and further on the King's regiment, which lined Fontenoy the length of the hollow way.

From that part where the French guards were poſted to where the Engliſh were forming it was a riſing ground. The officers of the former ſaid to each other, "We muſt go and take the Engliſh "cannon." And accordingly they aſcended to the top with their grenadiers: but when they got there, behold! a whole army before them. The cannon and ſome platoons were fired upon them, which brought very near 60 of them to the ground, and the remainder returned to their ranks in the greateſt diſorder.

In the mean time the Britiſh infantry advanced, and the French guards with the regiments juſt now named moved forward to meet them. When within thirty yards of each other, the Britiſh officers ſaluted the French, by taking off their hats. The Count de Chabannes and the Duke de Biron advanced forward, and returned the compliment. Lord Charles Hay, brother to the Marquis of Tweedale, and colonel of a company in the third regiment of guards, and afterward a major-general, cried out in French, "Gentlemen of the French "Guards give fire."

The Count d'Antroche, then lieutenant of grenadiers, made anſwer, with a loud voice, "Gentle-"men, we never fire firſt; fire you firſt." Then Lord Charles ſaid to his men in Engliſh, "Fire." Accordingly they made a running fire; that is, they

fired in platoons, in this manner, that when the front of a battalion four deep had fired, another battalion made its diſcharge, and then a third, while the firſt were again loading. The line of French Infantry was extremely thinned; ſo that, as they could not return the platoons, they did not fire: their ranks were pretty diſtant, and not at all ſupported by any other body of infantry: beſides, their eyes were ſurpriſed with the depth of the Britiſh corps, and their ears were ſtunned with a continued fire. 19 officers of their guards were wounded at this firſt charge, 95 ſoldiers killed upon the ſpot, and 285 wounded; as were 11 Swiſs officers, 145 of their private men, and 64 were killed. Colonel de Courten, his lieutenant-colonel, 4 other officers, and 75 private men, dropped down dead; 14 officers and 200 men were dangerouſly wounded, as the cannon fired grape ſhot. The firſt rank being thus ſwept away, the other three looked behind them, and ſeeing only cavalry, at the diſtance of 600 yards, they diſperſed. Theſe indeed came on in a menacing poſture, brandiſhing their ſwords, and the horſes laſhing their flanks with their tails; but they were miſerably cut off by the guards, who gave them their fire in platoons, and brought them in heaps to the ground, tumbling on each other. In this manner the troops under his Royal Highneſs advanced gradually, as if they were performing their exercife. So happy a beginning compenſated for the loſs ſuſtained from the artillery of the maſked batteries, and extremely encouraged the men; who were now exceedingly careſſed by their ſuperior officers.

Thus the troops under his Highneſs pierced beyond Fontenoy and the redoubt. But, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the ground, they were formed from the lines into an oblong figure, a ſolid body

of foot, unſhaken from its weight, and ſtill more ſo from its courage and intrepidity. The regiment of Aubeterre moved, with the Duke de Biron at their head, to meet them: but M. de Biron had an horſe ſhot under him at the firſt diſcharge: M. Luttaux, who came from Fontenoy, where he had been hurt by a ſplinter, received two mortal wounds; 100 ſoldiers were killed, and 200 were wounded. The Duke de Biron, at the head of the King's regiment, preſented himſelf at a little diſtance from the left flank of this compacted body: on which the third regiment of guards advanced ſome paces towards him, and gave ſo cloſe and regular a fire, that 3 captains were killed, 15 were wounded, and 12 lieutenants, with 79 of the private men; and at the ſame time 266 lay dead upon the ground. The regiment de la Couronne, being a little way behind the King's, likewiſe proceeded forward, to ſtop the career of the victors; but its colonel the Duke de Havre, the lieutenant-colonel, all the ſtaff-officers, with 37 ſubalterns, were wounded, ſo as to be obliged to quit the field; and the firſt rank, conſiſting of 260 ſoldiers was overthrown. The regiment of Soiſſonois advancing after that of la Couronne, had 14 officers wounded, and loſt 130 ſoldiers. The regiment of Royal, with that of la Couronne, was ſtill more roughly handled; for the Britiſh ſoldiers were after every fire improving in the art of levelling their pieces, and became more and more ſpirited: 6 of the officers of the Royal were killed, with 136 ſoldiers; 32 officers with 509 ſoldiers were wounded.

Had the Dutch troops under Prince Waldeck taken the ſame reſolution as the Britiſh under his Royal Highneſs, the French army would have been inevitably ruined; or could the Britiſh cavalry, ſo terrible to thoſe of France, have appeared, the

like event would have happened. The former only attacked redoubts, to no purpoſe (an error which loſt the battle of Pultowa to Charles XIIth) and the other did not care to advance without being commanded. General Campbell, who headed them, was killed, and the other officers did not chuſe to take too much upon them; ſo that the infantry were left to act by themſelves: and, as they could not ſeparate into ſmall diviſions, the enemy had time to rally the ſhattered reſerve of the ſeveral regiments, whereof one after another had been overthrown. The Duke de Biron rallied his own regiment and ſome grenadiers, in the hollow way, that lined Fontenoy, and made a briſk diſcharge upon the flank of this compacted body; thoſe of the King's regiment, of la Couronne and Aubeterre, entrenched themſelves behind the dead and wounded, which lay in heaps before them: the French and Swiſs guards were rallied by the Count de Babonnes toward the redoubt of Eu; but could only form one battalion, the reſt having been either killed or wounded. Theſe ſheltered themſelves under the cannon of the redoubt, having no ſtomach to advance againſt the Britiſh infantry; who ſtill kept firm and cloſe, and was continually gaining ground. They found the tents ſtanding, and even took the very kettles as they were boiling the ſoldiers victuals, which inſtantly were ſeized.

Marſhal Saxe ſaw the countenance which they wore, and did what he could to ſtop their progreſs; but in vain. But whether from the acute pain occaſioned by his illneſs, which impaired his uſual penetration and judgment, or from ſome other fatality, he certainly committed miſtakes not to be pardoned even in an ordinary officer.

Three regiments of horſe, under the Count d'Etrees, attacked the Britiſh infantry, now fluſhed with

with ſucceſs, and breathing revenge for the loſs of their brave comrades, but to no purpoſe: a regular and well ſupported fire overturned the ſeveral ſmall detached bodies which ſucceſſively preſented themſelves. The Marſhal, who was in the hotteſt place of the action, rode up with full ſpeed to bring on the ſecond line of cavalry: the regiments of Noailles and Penthievre fell on the front with intrepidity, while the Marquis de Vignacourt ruſhed with his ſquadron upon their flank. The Britiſh ſoldiers opened from right to left to let them come in; and, afterward cloſing upon them, cut them in pieces, except fourteen troopers, and the Marquis himſelf, who endeavoured to break through. Of theſe eight were afterward killed and ſix taken priſoners. In this daring adventure the ſoldiers run their bayonets up to the muzzles of their fuſees into the ſides of the enemies horſes; and one private man forced his bayonet with ſuch violence into M. de Vignacourt's leg, quite through the boot, that he was obliged to let go his piece: the horſe, having received ſeveral wounds, ran away with his maſter; while the but-end of the muſket trailing on the ground, widened and tore the wound, of which he died ſoon after.

The Count d'Argenſon, ſon of the ſecretary at war, charged with his regiment de Berri, at the very time when that of Fiennes was marching up. He advanced three times to the attack at the head of a ſingle ſquadron. The regiments de Brionne, de Brancas, and de Chabrillant rallied, and returned to the charge: but all theſe different bodies were repulſed one after another, and driven back with prodigious ſlaughter. All the general officers kept riding from one brigade to another. The regiments of the Colonel-general, of Fiennes, with the Croats, ſuffered much; that of the Prince de

Clermont endured ſtill more; twenty-two of their officers having been wounded, and of the Croats twelve. The ſtaff-officers were in motion: M. de Vaudreuil, major-general of the army, the ſame who commanded afterward at Guadaloupe, rode every minute from right to left. Four quarter-maſters were wounded, as was the Count de Longaunac, aid major-general; and the lieutenant-general d'Ache had his foot ſhattered by a ball.

The further the Britiſh infantry advanced it became the deeper, and of conſequence the better able to repair the continual loſſes ſuſtained from ſo many different attacks: it ſtill marched on, cloſe and compact, over the bodies of the dead and wounded on both ſides, ſeeming to form one ſingle corps of about 16,000 men.

A great many troopers were driven back in diſorder as far as the place where the King and the Dauphin were poſted; ſo that theſe two Princes were ſeparated by the crowd that came tumbling upon them.

During this diſorder the brigades of the life-guards, who were in reſerve, advanced of their own accord againſt the Britiſh infantry; but were received with the ſame running fire, and overturned. Four ſquadrons of the gens d'armes, who arrived that very inſtant from Doway, charged immediately, notwithſtanding their fatigue and an uninterrupted march of twenty-one miles; but they were received in the ſame manner; as was the regiment of carabineers, a corps of no ſmall reputation and character.

Marſhal Saxe, though extremely weakened with fatigue, was ſtill on horſeback, riding gently in the midſt of the firing. He paſſed pretty near the front of the Britiſh infantry, to obſerve what paſſed on the left, toward the Wood de Barri, where they were

were going on in the ſame manner as on the right, endeavouring, but in vain, to put the infantry in diſorder. Oppoſite to their left were the Britiſh guards; the French regiments preſented themſelves one after another, while the Britiſh facing about, on every ſide, and placing their cannon properly, and always firing in diviſions, kept up a conſtant and running fire, whenever they were attacked, which ſoon overthrew the enemy, and then they remained immoveable and ceaſed to fire. The Marſhal at that time obſerving a regiment engaged with the Britiſh guards, and which ſtood immoveable even while whole ranks were dropping down, aſked what corps was that? And being told that it was the regiment de Vaiſſeau, commanded by M. de Guerci, the ſame who was afterward the French ambaſſador at London, he cried out, "Admirable "indeed." Two-and-thirty officers of this regiment were wounded, and one-third of the ſoldiers were either killed or rendered unfit for action. The regiment of Hainault did not ſuffer leſs: their colonel was the ſon of the Prince de Craon, governor of Tuſcany; the father ſerved in the troops commanded by M. Konigſegg, and his ſons were in the armies of France; this young man was killed at the head of his troops, the lieutenant-colonel was mortally wounded near him, as were 19 of the officers, and 260 of the private men lay dead upon the ſpot.

The regiment of Normandy advanced, but they had as many officers and ſoldiers wounded, as that of Hainault. Some Iriſh brigades fell next upon the flank of the Britiſh infantry, but Colonel Dillon was killed, with 13 other officers, and 56 were wounded.

Marſhal Saxe then returned by the front of the Britiſh line, which at this time had advanced three

hundred yards beyond the redoubt of Eu, and Fontenoy; in which laſt they had exhauſted their ball, and now anſwered the fire of the aſſailants only with gunpowder. The corps of artillery ſtationed there had been very roughly handled; M. de Brocard, lieutenant-general of the artillery, and many officers of the ordnance, were killed, and a great many more were wounded.

The Marſhal, finding things in this ſituation, earneſtly deſired the Duke de Harcourt, whom he accidentally met, to go and beſeech the King to remove further off. At the ſame time he ſent orders to the Count de la Marck, who defended Antoin, to quit that poſt, and to draw off the regiment of Piedmont. Victory now ſeemed to declare for the Confederates; the French were bringing back their field-pieces from every ſide, and were juſt upon the point of removing the artillery from the village of Fontenoy, though a ſupply of ball was come; they had even begun to ſend off the train. The Marſhal's intention was to make his laſt effort againſt the Britiſh infantry, which, notwithſtanding the repeated attacks of the enemy, ſtill appeared to be of the ſame depth as at the beginning; for from the time of croſſing the hollow way between Fontenoy and the Wood of Barri, their loſs was but very inconſiderable, the attack being only made by cavalry, and theſe almoſt overthrown ſo ſoon as they appeared: every thing wore the aſpect of victory; the enemy thought ſo, and accordingly prepared for a retreat, and the Dutch ſtood ready to take poſſeſſion of Antoin the moment the enemy quitted it, and ſo did the troops employed in the attack of the village of Fontenoy. The Marſhal's earneſt entreaty was intimated to the King, who had hitherto ſtood firm and undaunted, notwithſtanding the Britiſh troops

troops were in the middle of the ground which his own had ſo lately occupied, but he refuſed to comply.

The French generals now held a tumultuous kind of council around their King, who was preſſed, in the name and for the ſake of France, not to expoſe his perſon any longer. At this very inſtant arrived the Duke de Richlieu, lieutenant-general of the army, who ſerved as aid de camp to the King; he was come from Fontenoy, and had been reconnoitering the Britiſh infantry: he had charged them with the regiment of Vaiſſeaux, and with the life-guards; he had alſo cauſed M. Billett to advance with the gens d'armes, and theſe ſtopped the victors, who began to halt, as many of the men had ſhot all their complement of gunpowder, in order to be ſupplied, which they were from the cartouches of the ſlain that lay before them. Having thus rode about on every ſide without being wounded, he preſented himſelf quite out of breath with his ſword in his hand, and all covered with duſt. "Well Reſce," ſays Marſhal Noailles, (this was a familiar expreſſion uſed by that officer) "What news do you bring us, and what is your "opinion?" "My news," replied the Duke, "is, that the victory is ours, if we have a mind; "and my opinion is, that we immediately bring "four pieces of cannon to bear upon the front of "the enemy, while this artillery throws it into "diſorder; the King's houſhold and his other "troops will ſurround it; we muſt fall upon them "like foragers, and I will lay my life that the "day is ours." "But Fontenoy," ſaid they, "is "in the hands of the enemy." "I come from "thence," ſays the Duke, "it holds out ſtill." "We muſt ſee," replied they, "whether the "Marſhal has not deſigned this cannon for ſome

"other

" other uſe." He anſwered, " There is no other " to make of it;" he was convinced himſelf, and perſuaded the reſt. The King was the firſt who approved of the important propoſal, and every body elſe joined in the opinion. He gave orders therefore that they ſhould inſtantly go and bring four pieces of cannon; twenty rode away directly on the errand, when Captain Iſſards, of the regiment of Touraine, perceiving four pieces which they were carrying back, he gave notice of it immediately, and that very evening he had the croſs of St. Louis.

They were pointed by M. de Senneval, a lieutenant of the artillery, juſt oppoſite to the front of the Britiſh line, and only waited to move forward. The Duke de Richlieu, being mounted on a freſh horſe, galloped off at a full ſtretch to give orders to the King's houſhold to march, and theſe were put in motion in a moment. The Prince de Soubiſe aſſembled the gens d'armes under his command; the Duke de Chaulnes did the ſame with his light horſe; four ſquadrons of the gens d'armes advanced at the right of the King's houſhold, having the horſe grenadiers at their head, and the muſquetaires immediately before them; they all drew up in order and marched, and the cannon followed the center. The French troops rallied on every ſide, and crowded toward this moving line, which they increaſed every moment. The Count de la Marck, by the perſuaſion of the Duke de Biron, returned to his poſt at Antoin juſt as he had quitted it; and Marſhal Saxe coming up at that inſtant approved of Biron's opinion. Here being informed of the King's reſolution, and the diſpoſition of the troops, he acquieſced therein; and after ordering the regiment of Piedmont back to Antoin, he moved, notwithſtanding his weakneſs,

neſs, to the right and left, and toward the Iriſh brigades, ſtrictly charging all the troops he met on his way not to make any irregular charges, but to act in concert.

While he was with the Iriſh brigades, attended by M. de Lowendahl and Lord Clare, the Duke de Biron, the Count d'Eſtrees, and the Marquis de Croiſy were together on the right, and had a full view of the lines; the King's regiment, thoſe of Aubeterre and Courten were on that quarter, with five ſquadrons of Penthievre's regiment; the ſquadrons of Fitzjames, Noailles, Chabrillant, Brancas, and Brionne, advanced with their reſpective colonels, though they had received no orders; and there ſeemed to be a perfect harmony between their movements, and all that had been propoſed by M. de Richlieu. Lord Clare marched up with the Iriſh, the regiment of Normandy, the French guards, and a battalion of Swiſs, advancing higher up toward the redoubt of Eu. All theſe moved at once, and from their appearance ſeemed to form a ſolid body of 40,000 men, 30,000 of which were infantry; the Iriſh marched againſt the front of the Britiſh infantry, and the guards a little higher up toward their left. Nothing now retarded them but a hollow way, on the brink of which the troops opened from right to left to let forward the four pieces of cannon, which began to fire with great briſkneſs when within an hundred yards of the firſt line; they made two diſcharges, and thinned the ranks. Lieutenant-General Ligonier, the moment he ſaw them make this motion, cauſed the troops to open every where from right to left. The enemy in the mean time plunged into the hollow way, and under cover of the cannon advanced firing almoſt muzzle to muzzle, and then falling upon the Britiſh infantry with ſcrewed bayonets,

onets, the regiment of Normandy broke into one of theſe openings; the carabineers followed, and ſeemed with ſucceſs to be piercing through the firſt ranks: however, they were diſordered; but rallying in the very midſt of the lines that were preſſed on every quarter, they had more time than otherwiſe they would have had. The Iriſh preſſed forward and widened the breach; the carabineers miſtaking theſe for a part of the Britiſh guards, they having the ſame uniform, fired upon them. The Iriſh cried out, *Vive France*: but in the confuſion they could not be heard, ſo that ſome of the Iriſh were killed through miſtake.

The King's houſhold followed the impreſſion that had been made in the front, the cavalry preſſed it hard upon the left flank, by bearing upon them with the breaſts of their horſes. Some of the boldeſt among them charged ſword in hand, and others charged pell-mell with the guards and muſquetaires. His Royal Highneſs did all he could to animate his troops, who were extremely fatigued with ſo long a ſervice; but it was impracticable to ſtand againſt artillery, and the freſh troops of an enemy, who crowded from every quarter: whole ranks were cut down, ſo that a retreat was reſolved on. The Britiſh forces repaſſed through the way they came, and were not purſued by the enemy; for theſe wanted now to expoſe them to all the fury of the batteries, which certainly would have torn them to pieces, had not the Prince of Waldeck and M. Konigſegg kept them in play. A retreat being now reſolved on, the Earl of Crauford had the conducting of it. Accordingly they haſtily retreated the ſame way they came on; and here they were preſerved in a very ſingular manner. A body of the enemy's troops having lodged themſelves among ſome copſes oppoſite to the village

of

of Fontenoy, there was no firing from that quarter; but all at once, as the Britiſh troops came up, thoſe in ambuſh roſe up and fired full in the flank of the retreating infantry, who yet faced about, formed in a moment, and attacked the aſſailants with their fire and with ſcrewed bayonets. The enemy was ſoon overthrown and fled; the bulk of thoſe who forced the troops over the hollow way ſaw it, and yet durſt not march forward; they beheld the menacing countenance of the cavalry, and did not chuſe to proceed beyond the ſhelter of their batteries; but advanced no further than the top of the aſcent near Fontenoy, where they called, *Vive le Roi de la France*; and ſo returned. In the mean time the infantry of the Confederates were regaining their ranks, and marching off; the horſe moved after them in the rear, with three Hanoverian regiments under Major-General Zaſtrow. Some of the gens d'armes, who had advanced beyond the reſt, puſhed forward and attacked them; but the corps commanded by Zaſtrow gave them ſo cloſe a fire, that ſeveral of the horſes returned without riders, and trampled upon many of the wounded men, who might have recovered, had it not been for this unlucky accident. Very little of the baggage of the allies was taken; that was left at Bruffoil, and the baggage of his Royal Highneſs was tranſported to Aeth, where that afternoon it arrived, as did himſelf with the Britiſh troops about three in the morning. The only advantage gained by the enemy next to the repulſe itſelf, was a number of cannon, about 47, which the contractors abandoned in the time of the engagement; and theſe they added to the train of artillery, to be employed in the reduction of Tournay.

Such was the event of this battle of Fontenoy, in which the enemy had about 15,000 men killed,

and 20,000 wounded; among whom were many of the princes of the blood, who, with the flower of their troops, were deſtroyed; and though they kept poſſeſſion of their camp, yet the reſolute and unparalleled efforts of the Allies, particularly of the Britiſh infantry led on by the Duke of Cumberland, were ſo great, that they never wanted to face them in the open field during the courſe of the war.

On the ſide of the Allies were killed about 4041 men, and 629 horſes. Of twenty regiments of foot, there was not one who did not loſe conſiderably; the three regiments of guards, by being expoſed to the repeated attacks, and ſometimes to the batteries of the enemy, obtained the higheſt honour and reputation. Out of ſome companies no leſs than 35 were miſſing when they muſtered before the Duke's quarters; and here occurred a ſmall incident, which ſhewed the real diſpoſition of his Highneſs's heart, and how much the ſame was ſubject to be impreſſed with ſentiments of compaſſion and humanity. One of his aid de camps informed him that the guards had miſbehaved; he ſeemed to hear the account with ſome emotion, and continued to harbour a bad opinion of them, till next morning, when they came to the parade in the area immediately before his lodging, the gentleman in waiting informed him that his Highneſs's guard was come to do duty: "What!" replied he, "are they of the regiment of guards?" The gentleman anſwered, "they were:" "What!" ſaid his Highneſs, "they are not the King's guards, "they are black guards;" and ſo walked toward the window to look at them. Being ſurprized to ſee men from the different regiments, he pauſed a little, and aſked the meaning of it; on which he was told, that on account of their loſs the whole

three

three could not make one complete. This ſeemed to ſtartle him; he looked upon them with viſible concern, ſpoke to ſeveral among them, and even was obſerved to ſhed tears; and from that time never entertained the aid de camp with the ſame degree of confidence or regard as before.

Among the number of the killed was Lieutenant-General Sir James Campbell, whoſe leg was ſhot off by the patella of the knee about the beginning of the engagement; the ball that ſtruck him came from the village of Antoin, juſt as they began to attack it. He was carried out of the field, and ſaw without emotion the leg cut off, without ſaying any more than this; "My dancing "will henceforth be over:" a prediction which was ſoon fulfilled, for he died ſome hours after, only lamenting that he could not live to ſee the happy event of that glorious day. Major-General Ponſonby was killed by a cannon ball juſt as he was leaning on his pike, and taking a pinch of ſnuff, on their firſt halting, after putting to flight the front of the enemy; the Earl of Albemarle, afterward ambaſſador in France, was rode over, and bruiſed; Major-General Howard was wounded in four places; the Brigadiers Churchill and Ingolſby, the Lords Ancram and Cathcart, aids de camp to the Duke, were wounded alſo; five Colonels were killed outright, among whom was Colonel Carpenter of the guards; Colonel Duroure of Bligh's regiment was wounded, as were the Lieutenant-Colonels Lord Charles Hay, Waldgrave, Whitmore, Kennedy, and Lord George Sackville, with above 300 inferior officers, many of whom died afterwards of their wounds. The Hanoverians loſt, between killed, wounded, and priſoners, about 1762; there were of the Dutch, between killed and wounded, about 1544; and the Auſtrians

trians loſt 830; ſo that the whole loſs on the ſide of the Confederates amounted to 8177 killed, 8000 wounded, and 2000 taken priſoners.

In conſequence of this repulſe the ſiege of Tournay proceeded with vigour, and without interruption; for on the day after the battle there was a diſcharge of 160 pieces of cannon and 40 mortars againſt the town, in token of the victory; the place was every day more and more cloſely inveſted, ſo that on the 12th day Baron Dorth, the governor, found himſelf obliged to ſurrender the fort into the hands of the beſiegers, and the citadel ſoon yielded. The French King himſelf was preſent at the gate as the garriſon marched out, and with great humanity enquired the names of the ſeveral regiments as they paſſed by; and to ſhew his complaiſance to the States General, he permitted the garriſon to retire, upon condition of not ſerving againſt France for a year; and to be ſtill more polite, he ordered the priſoners that had been taken at the late battle to be ſet at liberty.

His conduct to the Britiſh priſoners was quite otherwiſe: they were cloſely confined. His Royal Highneſs wrote to Marſhal Saxe about the matter, deſiring that they might either be exchanged or ranſomed, according to the cartel ſettled at Francfort, anno 1741, to which the Count wrote an anſwer to this purpoſe, That charity and humanity engaged his Majeſty of France to give orders, that the Engliſh and Hanoverian priſoners ſhould be taken care of*; but that he would keep them in his priſons, forts, and citadels, until the King of Great Britain

* Scarce were the Britiſh troops retired, when a parcel of maroders, Engliſh, Iriſh, and Scots renegadoes, ſtript the dead and wounded, which when the French King heard, he ordered the whole either to receive back their own clothes, or others in their ſtead.

did

did him juſtice with regard to the arreſting of Marſhal Belleiſle and his Brother, who were ſtill detained in England, contrary to the faith of the cartel: That, not having the ſame reaſons of complaint againſt the States General, his Majeſty had ordered the Dutch priſoners to be ſet at liberty.

The chief advantage gained by the French was, that they were at more freedom to attack the fortreſſes in Flanders; which, to the ruin of their own armies and finances, they have ſo frequently over-run: but this was the boundary of what they could do. In every other reſpect their affairs were but indifferent. The great and ample ſupplies granted by the Britiſh Parliament towards carrying on the war, the advantages gained by the Britiſh ſhips at ſea, the rapid progreſs of Prince Charles of Lorrain on the Rhine, notwithſtanding the efforts of the Prince of Conti to oppoſe him, the accommodation between the Queen of Hungary with the young Elector of Bavaria, who now joined the enemies of France, the reſolution of the States of Holland, and their engagements for ſettling the proportion of expence and forces to be employed againſt their common enemy, could not fail to counterbalance the ſmall advantage which only the forts and encampment about Tournay had given them.

This diſpoſition of their High Mightineſſes was in a great meaſure owing to the addreſs and ſuperior ability of Philip Dormer Earl of Cheſterfield, who had a little before appeared at the Hague, as ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the King of Great Britain. His Lordſhip was a man of deep penetration and judgment, cool in his paſſions, deliberate in his actions, and vigorous in executing his ſchemes. He had once been ambaſſador to the ſame Court before, and, having

cultivated an intimacy with ſeveral of their leading men, he had the fairer opportunity of improving that acquaintance to the good of the Sovereign whom he repreſended; and his words had the more influence on them. For in a memorial which he delivered to the Deputies, with whom he had held a conference, he expreſſed himſelf in theſe nervous and pathetic terms, in which he expoſed the deluſive conduct of France, without ſo much as mentioning her name. "Let crafty policy," ſaid he, "employ the moſt ſeducing artifices, to cover "its ambitious deſigns; let it put every ſpring in "motion to deceive your confidence*, or at leaſt "lull you into a fatal ſecurity; true friendſhip, "ſuch as that which unites the King my maſter "with your High Mightineſſes, deſpiſes thoſe ar-"tifices, and abhors theſe indirect means: it is "ſimple, and its language is the ſame."

"The cloſe union of the two nations is neither "the effect of ſome tranſient views, nor the fruit "of accidental conjunctures; but a right conſe-"quence of our reciprocal and invariable intereſts. "Nature pointed it out to us, in placing us as ſhe "has done; and the uninterrupted experience of "almoſt a century, does not permit us to be ig-"norant, that our mutual proſperity depends up-"on our union."

The States of Holland at that time could not help obſerving the ſtrength and vigour of his arguments: they were convinced, that Germany, Italy, Bohemia, and Flanders were the theatres of blood and ſlaughter through the policy and ambition of the Court of France. Ghent ſubmitted without

* Alluding to a ſpeech of M. de Fenelon, March 19, 1744, in which he told the States General, that his maſter had in the year 1721 thwarted the deſign of the Court of Vienna to eſtabliſh an Eaſt India Company at Oſtend.

reſiſtance;

reſiſtance; and Oſtend, which once had formerly endured a ſiege of three years, now holds out but three days againſt Count Lowendahl. The ſtate of Flanders was indeed more alarming than either the progreſs of the Pruſſian armies in Sileſia, or of the united forces of France and Spain upon the territories of the Republic of Genoa. But to check their progreſs the Britiſh and Dutch armies were recruited with men and horſes, ammunition and proviſions; nor were the enemy capable of interrupting the timely ſupplies: for the regiments were ſoon filled up. The behaviour of his Royal Highneſs was every day more and more engaging: for, deſpiſing fatigue, he would think nothing of ſetting out about ten at night to view a piece of ground that had been recommended to him for an encampment. The ſtrict diſcipline enjoined to be obſerved by the ſoldiers could not fail to promote reſpect and veneration from the boors, notwithſtanding the innate clowniſhneſs and peeviſh diſpoſition, ſo viſible and general in theſe. Not to ſay, but irregularities were committed by ſome of the military in the places where the Allies were cantoned; but, wherever there was any proof, the complainer had an ample ſatisfaction. In a word, things were, towards the beginning of July, ſo well recovered, that the Confederate army was ready to fight the enemy upon equal terms; and towards the latter end of that month an agreeable piece of news arrived, which not a little contributed to animate the troops, and to give the country people an high opinion of the power of their maſters.

Every perſon has heard of the Iſle of Cape Breton, which, lying near to the entrance into the river of St. Lawrence, almoſt commands the fiſheries upon the Banks of Newfoundland. Sir Peter Warren was the perſon who atchieved this

important conqueſt. He appeared before it on the 28th of April, and by a cloſe ſiege, in which he prevented all ſuccours from coming to the enemy, he reduced it on the 16th of June thereafter.

The news of this important acquiſition arriving at London on the 20th of July, cauſed an univerſal ſatisfaction and joy; and addreſſes of congratulation from every quarter. It was ſent in a letter by an expreſs to the Duke of Cumberland, who read over the contents to the general officers as ſoon as he received it, and it was by them communicated to the private men. Aeth was illuminated, conduits were prepared, and ran with wine, and the artillery fired. A grand entertainment was prepared, to which the general officers were invited, and had the honour to dine with his Highneſs; the ſubalterns dined at another table, and the private men had the broken victuals, and plenty of wine for regaling them.

As they ſat at table his Highneſs was obſerved to be more than ordinarily chearful, and to take occaſion to repreſent the ſingular advantage that would accrue to the nation from a conqueſt ſo important in itſelf and ſo prejudicial to the enemy *, that ten repulſes at Fontenoy were not ſo hurtful to Britain as the loſing of Cape Breton was diſadvantageous to France.

This opinion of his Royal Highneſs ſeemed to be the ſame with what the Court of Verſailles had formed of the matter: ſhe now more than ever endeavoured to embarraſs the King of Great Britain, by obliging him to recall his forces out of Flanders; that by thus taking off the greateſt ob-

* It yielded to France yearly a revenue of 1,400,000l. ſterling, and was a nurſery for ſeamen to her fleets.

ſtacle

ſtacle to her ambitious views, the other might follow of courſe, and ſhe might act with impunity. She had recourſe to the favourite project of ſetting the Pretender on the throne of England; a ſcheme ſo grand at firſt appearance, that poſterity will find it difficult to give credit to the ſuddenneſs of the enterprize, or to believe the ſeveral occurrences that attended the bold and daring adventure.

The End of the THIRD BOOK.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

BOOK III.

CONTENTS.

The Riſe of the Rebellion 1745,—*a Deſcription of* Scotland,—*the Pretender's eldeſt Son arrives at* Edinburgh,—*his Manifeſtoes*,—*and the Battle of* Preſton-pans.

AMONG the ſeveral attempts in favour of the Pretender to the crown of Great Britain, there were none conducted with ſuch addreſs and ſecrecy, as that which broke out in the ſummer of the year 1745; and what is no leſs wonderful than true, ſome who had engaged in the aſſociation to promote his advancement, were never very remarkable for ſecrecy and reſerve.

The principal among the conſpirators was Simon Lord Lovat, a nobleman of a crafty turn of mind, and

and who experienced the viciſſitudes both of good and bad fortune in the early part of life, and in his more advanced years. When but young he committed a rape upon his aunt-in-law, the Lady Dowager of Lovat. To ſcreen himſelf from juſtice, he roamed about the Highlands and Weſtern Iſles of Scotland, and at laſt retired into France. During this period of his exile he became perfectly well acquainted with the nature of the people inhabiting theſe remote parts. As his mother was a daughter of the Laird of Macleod, and his grandmother a daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald of Slate, ſo his misfortunes only furniſhed him an opportunity of cultivating a correſpondence with the different families of theſe two chieftains, and the other heads of the clans. While in France he had occaſion to be acquainted with the ſeveral orders among the Jeſuits, and embracing the Roman Catholic religion, he cheriſhed all her tenets, but none more than thoſe of diſſimulation and perfidy to heretics; for though he lived and died a Roman Catholic, yet he frequently endeavoured to get himſelf elected as a member of the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland, and took the oaths once and again to King William, to King George I. and II. in whoſe reign he was Captain of an independent company of Highlanders for fifteen years; when in the year 1736 General Wade having detected the iniquitous methods by which he enriched himſelf, and impoſed upon the government in the moſt flagitious and oppreſſive manner *; and obſerving the backwardneſs with which

* His company, as he gave out, conſiſted of 120 men, beſides officers and pipers; but on enquiry it was found that he had pocketed the money, and only remitted a ſmall part of the corn or carriage-ſervice to his tenants for appearing at the reviews.

his corps went through the ſeveral evolutions of the military exerciſe, with the uncouth and tawdry condition in which they appeared, he, in conſequence of being lieutenant-general of the King's forces in Scotland, broke the company, and took away the commiſſion of their captain: at which Lovat was ſo much enraged, that from that day he meditated no leſs a revenge than that of dethroning the King; in which event General Wade and other officers would be involved in the cataſtrophe and change.

To bring this about he propoſed and ſigned the aſſociation formerly mentioned, ſent it to France, where it was approved, and a promiſe was given to ſupport it. The old Chevalier was ſo pleaſed with it, that he thanked him by a letter under his own hand, promiſed to pay all the debts upon the eſtate of Lovat, to create him Duke of Beaufort and Frazer, and Lieutenant-General of the Highlands.

The pompous title of Duke of Frazer, inſtead of Lord Lovat, the high and diſtinguiſhing ſtation of Lieutenant-General of the Highlands, inſtead of being Captain of an independent company of Frazers, flattered the ambition of the man, who, notwithſtanding he was in the 74th year of his age, yet expected before his death to be the greateſt ſubject of the nation, in conſequence of having reſtored *the King!*

Full of reſentment againſt the government, and big with the hopes of titles, riches, and diſtinguiſhed appellations, he applied in good earneſt to entice the ſubjects from their allegiance, and to fire them into an inclination to arms. As the people are poor, ignorant, and born with a military genius, ſo the taſk became the more eaſy. His circumſtances were abundantly opulent; for during the fifteen

fifteen years in which he retained the command, he ſaved almoſt 9*l.* every day. At Edinburgh he ſet up his chariot; his houſe at Caſtle Downie was daily frequented, and his viſitors were hoſpitably entertained. He told them ſtories of what happened long ago among the Highlanders, magnified the ſuperior advantage of the broad ſword and target above the gun and bayonet, ridiculed the cuſtom of beſtowing commiſſions upon children and boys; and, to crown all, he interpreted prophecies and dreams. His age was an advantage to him, as it furniſhed him with a pretext of telling them, without being ſuſpected, fabulous tales about their forefathers, the connections of theſe with each other, with the neighbouring clans, and with his clan in particular. In fine, he denominated them his couſins, and uſually diſmiſſed them with the appellation of children and friends. He had kept up a correſpondence with the Court of St. Albano from the time of the aſſociation; and now on the repulſe of the Allied army from before Tournay, he looked with impatience for an invaſion.

The young Pretender was at Rome when he firſt heard of the diſappointment which his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland had met with; his flatterers magnified the diſaſter, and threw the whole blame upon the Britiſh commander; they charged him with being the cauſe of the Allied army engaging that day, though that ſtep was entirely owing to the Prince of Waldeck: it was eaſy to perſuade a man who thirſted after power, and aſpired after a crown. The ambitious young man ſet out from Rome on the 16th of June, and, arriving at Paris by the way of Avignon, he had again conferences with the diſaffected there, and with Lord John Drummond, and ſome officers of his

his regiment, who had come on purpoſe to meet him concerning the method of his procedure; and to be more ſecure, he wrote a letter to John Murray of Broughton, informing him that he intended ſoon to ſet out for Scotland, and deſired that his friends might be ready to join him upon his landing. The letter was tranſmitted to Perth, Lovat, Lochiel, and others, who all (except Perth) were abſolutely againſt his landing at that time. Murray wrote him the opinion of his friends; but before the arrival of the letter the haſty adventurer was ſet out.

He went to Port Lazare in Britany, and there hired a ſmall veſſel, in which he embarked only with ſeven perſons, and upon the 15th of July landed in South Uiſt, where his encouragement was far from being anſwerable to the expectations which he had conceived; old Clanranald, the chieftain of the Macdonalds in that part, was over in Ariſaig, diſſuading his followers there to join in any enterprize; Macdonald of Buiſdale, Clanranald's brother, being on the ſpot, remonſtrated againſt it with all the eloquence he was maſter of. The other deſcendants of the family were of a different opinion; ſome of them had fought at the battle of Sheriffmuir, and wanted to be revenged for the death of their chieftain, who fell there. The young men breathed the ſame ſpirit of acrimony and reſentment, and the Lady Clanranald became the moſt ſanguine in the cauſe. After ſome altercation and argument, it was ſettled that he ſhould repair to the continent; and in caſe the chieftains there ſhould ſet up his ſtandard, he might depend upon being joined by the clan under the command of her ſecond ſon.

This being ſettled, he accordingly ſent back the veſſel, and in an open boat ſet ſail for Ardna-murchan,

chan, from whence he intimated his arrival to his friends. Cameron of Lochiel, and his brother the Doctor, were the firſt to repair to him; and appearing greatly ſurprized at ſeeing him, they earneſtly beſought him to return; on which, with ſome emotion, he took out the French King's obligation to ſupport him, and ſaid with no little warmth: "If you will not ſet up my ſtandard, "deliver me up to the Elector of Hanover; for "ſince I am arrived among you upon your own "invitation, I am determined not to return." To which Lochiel replied, "I muſt ſay your Highneſs "uſes me ill, to think I could be guilty of de-"livering you to the Elector; I ſhall join you, as "my honour is engaged; but remember I tell "you, that your haſty procedure will render your "ſcheme abortive, and prove the ruin of your "friends." The principal heads of the clan were of opinion that the project was impracticable, and threatened to confine their chieftain, notwithſtanding the cordial affection which they bore him; however, the remonſtrance was in vain: that very night it was agreed to ſet up his ſtandard * next day at Glenphillin, provided Lord Lovat approved of it; and in the mean time Dr. Cameron rode away to his Lordſhip with the news.

Though this nobleman did not applaud the Pretender's impatience, yet he gave it as his opinion that the ſtandard ſhould be ſet up: he promiſed to ſend out his own clan, and even head them himſelf, ſo ſoon as his infirmities and ſickneſs were removed. The Doctor returning with Lovat's anſwer, the ſtandard was erected at the place appointed, to which many of the country people came in; the

* It was a ſquare piece of red ſilk fixed to a long ſtaff, with a white ſtandard in the middle, and this motto, *Tandem bona cauſa triumphans*, The good cauſe at laſt triumphing.

Macdonalds of Glengary, Keppoch, and Clanranald, with the Maceans of Glencoe, and ſome of the Maclauchlans crowded to it; ſuch was the abject and miſerable ſlavery under which they groaned. With this little army he marched to Fort William, where he encamped, and from thence proceeded ſouthward: they were regimented after the manner of regular troops: the pay of the private men was 8 *d. per diem*; and when a party of the Macdonalds of Keppoch's family ſurprized ſeventy new raiſed men of Sinclair's regiment, he granted the booty, viz. 50 *l.* to themſelves. And here it will be proper to give a character of thoſe principally concerned.

William Marquis of Tullebardin, who had been attainted in the year 1715, was one of the ſeven that attended him from France. He was no ſoldier, no ſtateſman, and his frequent misfortunes, with a three years impriſonment for debt in Paris, had ſo broken his conſtitution, that he was very unfit for the deſign whereon he came: however, he was abundantly popular, and in that ſituation prevailed on a number to join him. General Macdonald, a lieutenant colonel in the Iriſh brigades, Sir Thomas Sheridan *, and Mr. O'Sullivan; Mr. Mechel, who was his gentleman; Mr. Kelly, a man deeply involved with Dr. Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, and a Guinea black attended him likewiſe.

In his way to the ſouth country he was met by ſeveral of his friends, ſuch as James Drummond, commonly called Duke of Perth, John Murray of Broughton, and Stuart of Ardſhiel; men abundantly brave, but ignorant of the art of war. And indeed it is to be obſerved, that he had not one

* This man's ſpouſe had ſuckled the young Pretender, which was the reaſon of his being knighted.

good

good officer along with him: his dependance was upon his own ſtratagems, Sullivan's ſchemes, and the bravery of the Highlanders, or the alertneſs of thoſe who ſhould join. And here an account of the Northern part of the United Kingdom may be expected.

That part of the united kingdom, called Scotland, is about 240 miles long, and 200 broad: not but in ſome places it is broader *; but I only ſpeak of it at a medium. It contains 940 pariſhes, and the inhabitants of theſe amount to the number of 1,500,000 perſons, the clergy, women and children included. The country abounds every-where with rivers, which yield prodigious quantities of excellent ſalmon; its extended coaſt from ſouth to north is one continued white fiſhery, and its ſouthern and weſtern, is no leſs remarkable for herrings, which ſometimes draw great numbers of people from every quarter. Many rich mines of coal, of iron and of lead are to be found within the bowels of its mountains. The ſouthern parts are productive of wheat, and yield excellent paſtures. How unhappy for the Adventurer to expect an army from thoſe, and at the ſame time to take the moſt unlikely method to procure it. He came among them with a crowd of Highlanders; people no leſs diſagreeable to the well-peopled counties in the lower part of the kingdom, than the Sclavonian Pandours are to the citizens of Vienna, or the ſuperſtitious Laplanders to the inhabitants and burghers of Stockholm. Their dreſs, though the neareſt to that of the old Romans, was no way agreeable to the people of the ſouth of Scotland; and yet the Chevalier, though born in the middle of Italy, had one made for him, and put it on.

* The northern point of Caithneſs is diſtant from the Mull of Cantire 240 miles.

This

This popularity in the remote parts did him no ſervice as he advanced. Indeed ſome of the name of Macgregor, a clan who had been outlawed for robbery and murder ever ſince the year 1430, joined him in his way to Perth; but in this place he might begin to gueſs at his unhappy ſituation.

If we take a view of North Britain, it may be ranged under four diviſions. The eaſtern, which extends from Berwick upon Tweed to Edinburgh; the weſtern, which begins there, and, paſſing along the Forth, reaches to the utmoſt limits of Argyleſhire; the ſouthern, which proceeds from Edinburgh to Solway Forth; and the northern, which, according to ſome, ſtretches from the Forth to the Orkneys.

No perſon acquainted with the ſouthern diviſion can have the leaſt doubt of the loyalty of its inhabitants. Scarce can one among a thouſand be found in thoſe parts in the leaſt tinctured with Jacobitiſm. Out of the ſhires of Roxburgh and Selkirk, which contain about one hundred thouſand inhabitants, only three were concerned in the rebellion: two of whom were delirious, and the third had been carried over into Spain in his infancy. Out of Annandale was only one. His misfortune aroſe from his ſituation: he was a priſoner for debt when the Pretender arrived at Carliſle: the priſon doors were ſet open: the priſoners joined him; but embraced the firſt opportunity of quitting his ſervice: they all left him at Penrith. From Kircudbright, Wigtoun, and Lanerk were none; from the ſhires of Berwick and Haddingtoun were three, and from Peebles were only two; ſo far as I could find upon the ſtricteſt enquiry. And theſe diſtricts put together contain about ſix hundred thouſand inhabitants.

Between

Between the ſouthern and weſtern diviſion lies the ſhire of Edinburgh; which being a place of public reſort, eſpecially the city, cannot be free from diſaffected people. However, the Loyaliſts are by far the moſt numerous: and this county, including the metropolis, contains about one hundred thouſand inhabitants.

From Edinburgh we may paſs to the weſtern diſtrict, which includes the ſhires of Linlithgow, Galloway, Stirling, Dumbarton, Renfrew, Air, Bute, and Argyle; the inhabitants of which may be about four hundred thouſand: and have generally been ſo remarkable for their true revolution principles, that no people have endured more hardſhips under a tyrannical government than their forefathers. The clans, the anceſtors of thoſe who lately appeared in arms againſt the government, were brought from the iſles, and remote places of the kingdom, to live upon free quarters among them. The memory of the havock and deſolation cauſed by them, was not wholly obliterated.

Out of the moſt wealthy of the weſtern ſhires there was not a ſingle man in the Pretender's army. On the contrary, many of them appeared in arms for the Government.

We cannot indeed ſay ſo much for the loyalty of the inhabitants in the northern diviſion: yet the ſpirit of diſaffection has greatly abated even in theſe counties, where the ſame was moſt notorious and palpable. We ſhall give a ſhort ſketch of theſe, that the reader may better underſtand the ſtate and genius of the country: and though I cannot be of opinion, that the ſhire of Fife, ſo remarkable for her antient heroes of old, and for her induſtrious inhabitants at this time, is a part of the north diviſion, yet I muſt begin with it, as it is the

the firſt county that occurs after croſſing the Forth.

The ſhire of Fife, in proportion to its extent, is full as populous * as any in England, Middleſex only excepted. It abounds with all the neceſſaries of life, and enjoys many natural advantages. There are inexhauſtible mines of coal and pits of ſalt; of which the Fordel coal is the moſt intire and cleanly, and burns more brightly than the beſt Newcaſtle coal. The natives are devoted to trade and manufactory. Scarce ten perſons joined the Highlanders from her populous diſtricts. On the contrary, many armed againſt them. Paſſing from Fife we enter the ſhire of Forfar, where the people, though generally averſe to Preſbyterian government, were not averſe to his Majeſty King George; the people of property are to a man well affected, and the commonalty ſo devoted to labour and an induſtrious way of life, that they want to live in peace and in quietneſs. Many of them withſtood the moſt awful threatenings to join the Pretender's ſtandard.

Though the counties which lie beyond the Eſk, the utmoſt boundary of the ſhire of Forfar, may be branded with diſloyalty more than their neighbours, yet it is very remarkable, that out of the ſhires of Kincardin, Aberdeen, Bamff, Murray, and Nairn there were not eight hundred who joined the inſurgents. The ſhire of Inverneſs was the next where the bulk of them has brandiſhed their arms. The Iſles had augmented the rebellious corps; about two thouſand from Perthſhire crowned the head of the rebellious ſtandard, and a few from Roſsſhire and Cromarty ſupported it. And even in theſe remote places were to be found numbers

* It contains 200,000 inhabitants.

of

of perſons extremely well affected: as in the ſhire of Sutherland, which is exceeding poor; and in the ſhire of Caithneſs, which, though the remoteſt in Scotland, is yet ſo plentiful, that I doubt if there be a county in the King's dominions which abounds more with the comforts and neceſſaries of life, and whoſe natives are more given to hoſpitality.

Happy for the Pretender that he had known the country. He was deceived by others, and indeed he deceived himſelf: and yet his ſchemes were hitherto ſo ſucceſsful, as not a little to animate ſuch as had joined him.

His chief encouragement proceeded from the little reſiſtance which he met with from the King's forces. 'Tis indeed true, that they were too far off to attack the corps that firſt ſet up his ſtandard. The real ſervices done him by Sir John Cope, the then lieutenant-general of the King's forces in Scotland, were beyond the moſt ſanguine expectation of his friends. That officer had never taken care to ſupport the grandeur and dignity of a commander in chief. Being of a phlegmatic temper, he was ready to diſcover an uncommon degree of fire and warmth upon trivial occaſions. I have ſeen him come to the Court of Juſticiary *, in order to kill a tedious hour, but in a dreſs far below that of an ordinary gentleman, and almoſt unattended. Unmoved at the hints which might have ariſen in the mind of a man of the leaſt ſagacity, he did nothing in conſequence of the ſeizing † Sir Hector

* The higheſt in Scotland.

† June 5th 1745. This Sir Hector was the ſon of Sir John Maclean, a chieftan who had taken up arms againſt King William and againſt King George I. He was an officer in the French ſervice, came over to Scotland with letters wrote in French, and in ſhort hand. The very circumſtance of his hiding the letters, when apprehended, was a ſufficient ſuſpicion.

Maclean and Bleau of Caſtlehill; nor did he exert himſelf to get the troops together, although ſollicited thereto by the officers of ſtate, and by the Earl of Hume: though Sir Duncan Campbell ſent an expreſs to Edinburgh, with an account that the Pretender was landed, yet he did not march ſo ſoon as he might have done. In ſhort, the Adventurer was eighteen days openly in the country before Cope began to ſtir; and even after he had begun his march with the forces, who it muſt be owned were but about 1500 foot, moſtly new-raiſed men, ſupported with only ſix pieces of cannon, he by his motions gave them all the time and intimation they poſſibly could wiſh for: and, as if afraid that they ſhould not have proper intelligence, he at Daalnacardach, where the extended deſart between Athol and Ruthven begins, drew up his men, made them fire their pieces in the air, in order, as he gave out, to ſee if they were fit for action. This done he marched forward toward Dalguiny, where he was within ſix miles of the Inſurgents; and here in a council of war his opinion prevailed, neither to march againſt the enemy, who was ill armed and not ſupported with cannon, nor yet to return and ſtop their progreſs into the low country. He paſſed by them, and thus left them a free and open paſſage to march, if they pleaſed, to the metropolis.

When the Chevalier was informed of this falſe ſtep of the General, he ſeemed to be elevated with a joy which he was at no pains to conceal; and, drinking Cope's health in a bumper of brandy, he ſaid, "If all the Uſurper's officers act like him, "I ſhall ſoon be at St. James's." From that day the two armies widened their diſtance: the Royaliſts proceeded to Inverneſs, and the Highlanders advanced to Blair of Athol, and from thence to Perth,

Perth, which the Chevalier entered in triumph, and ordered his manifeſtoes to be proclaimed.

While in this place, he was joined by ſome people of deſperate fortunes, ſuch as Mercer of Aldie, Oliphant of Gaſk, and Sir John Wedderburn: but, to his great misfortune, the gentlemen of Fife quitted their own houſes, ſent their plate to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and laid the ſtrongeſt injunctions upon their tenants aud dependants not to join the army of the young Chevalier.

Of the number of theſe brave gentlemen was Lieutenant-general Philip Preſton, then governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh, an officer of great experience, and whoſe behaviour had been every way agreeable in the wars of Queen Anne; the gentlemen of the name of Anſtruther, and Sir Robert Henderſon of Fordel followed their couſin General Preſton's example.

This Sir Robert is the lineal repreſentative of a very antient family, not only connected in blood with the firſt and greateſt in the county, but linked to them by the more ſtrong and laſting ties of friendſhip, correſpondence, and a generous deportment. The bravery of this family has been diſplayed in foreign countries, their diſtinguiſhed merit has ſhone in ſeveral reigns, and their loyalty ſtands untainted: many of its branches have been regaled in Sweden, in Denmark, in Germany, and in France. One of them was commander of the firſt Scots guard * that was eſtabliſhed in France; a corps to whoſe fidelity the ſacred perſons of their kings were entruſted. Another of the deſcendants contributed greatly to gain the battle of Lutzen, on which depended the Proteſtant cauſe.

* It took its name from a company of young gentlemen who accompanied Margaret, Princeſs of Scotland, when ſhe went to be married to Lewis XII. 1430.

Nor is he himſelf the unworthy ſon of ſuch famous and renowned anceſtors; for not to inſiſt upon the moſt amiable diſpoſition, and the moſt endearing generoſity of heart, he has had eyes to ſee what lay hid from ages, goodneſs to improve it to the beſt advantage, and a ſpirit to carry it into execution for the public utility; he has, on his own charges, built an harbour, at a place * which had not ſo much as a name! And future ages cannot fail gratefully to remember the man who did ſo much for preventing ſhipwrecks, for ſaving a number of lives; and who in the period when the Government could beſt diſtinguiſh her friends from her enemies, ſet the moſt bright and ſtriking example of loyalty to his fellow ſubjects; for in that whole county there was not a ſingle man of the leaſt property who joined the young Chevalier: which might be the reaſon why his friends and followers treated the country people there with the greater harſhneſs and ſeverity, for being now in Perth, they began to ſpread themſelves by detachments into the adjacent villages.

On the 7th of Sept. a party of Clanranald's regiment entered Dundee, proclaimed the Pretender, ſearched the town for arms, horſes, and ammunition, and levied the public money. In this excurſion a ſhip with gunpowder was ſeized: it was carried up the Tay to Perth, and there unloaded for the Pretender's ſervice. Other parties viſited the towns † of Fife, where they rifled the merchants ſhops; and, carrying the goods to the Pretender, he ordered that the ſame ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective owners, on their paying the third part of their price. The noblemen and gentlemens houſes

* Capernaum.

† There are in this county fourteen large corporation towns, beſides many extenſive and populous villages.

were

were viſited by them; money was demanded with impunity, arms and ammunition were laid hold on, the cattle were driven from the parks and incloſures, while the corn and the ſtraw of the farmer and labourer were ſeized. All was in confuſion from theſe proceedings, and the country was drowned in amazement and ſurprize.

Such was the ſituation of the Chevalier's affairs, when General Cope, after a ſtay of five days at Inverneſs, for refreſhing his men from the fatigues they had endured, thought of the neceſſity of marching ſouthward. He had indeed concerted means with Duncan Forbes, preſident of the court of ſeſſion, for uſing ſuch means as might be of the greateſt efficacy for hindering the Adventurer's army from being recruited, which was ſo far prudent and wiſe. In other things he acted without thought, and fell into the miſtake of deſpiſing the enemy, and of declaring his contempt to the gentlemen who proffered their ſervice to the Government. He called the Highlanders a raw banditti; without conſidering, that the bulk of his own ſoldiers were raw new-raiſed men: nor did he ſo much as thank the people who offered to join the King's forces.

On the 4th of September he ſet out for Aberdeen, where, according to his own deſire, there were tranſports ready to conduct the troops under his command to Leith: and, though the poor people of the diſtricts through which he paſſed did every thing in their power to ſupport the ſpirits and courage of the ſoldiers, and the noblemen and gentlemen did whatever could be expected toward rendering the march agreeable to him and the officers, yet he ordered the encampment to be fixed amidſt the ripe ſtanding corn, contrary to the remonſtrances both of the proprietors and of the

ſoldiers themſelves. In this march Captain Munro accompanied him, with two hundred of his name.

On the 11th of September, the day the Chevalier ſet out from Perth, the army arrived at Aberdeen; where they halted till the 15th, when they embarked on board the tranſports, that had been ſent to bring them up. They ſailed for Leith; and, entering the Forth on the 17th, they had information, that the Pretender's army had got poſſeſſion of Edinburgh, where his manifeſtoes had been proclaimed: an account which determined him to divert his courſe to Dunbar, where that night the forces were diſembarked, in order to march as ſoon as poſſible againſt the enemy; who, in conſequence of the fatal ſteps taken by the King's officers, had made a ſurpriſing progreſs.

For having intelligence of the ſailing of the tranſports to Aberdeen, and of the march of the troops from Inverneſs, they ſet out from Perth on the 11th, and on the 18th forded the Forth at the Frew, where Colonel Gardiner's dragoons made a ſhew to oppoſe them; had Gardiner been in his vigour, as formerly, he might with his ſingle regiment have prevented their paſſing over; had the dragoons alighted, and marched with two pieces of cannon, which might ſoon have been brought from the caſtle of Stirling to the brink of the river, it is ſcarcely poſſible to imagine that the inſurgents, without artillery, and even without arms, would have attempted it; many of them had only pitchforks, and were without firelocks: however, the Colonel was valetudinary; fame had magnified the number of the enemy, and he did not chuſe to run any hazards; he retired before them to Edinburgh, and they followed but ſlowly after him. The fruitleſs parade made by the citizens only tended to animate the inſurgents, and to furniſh

them with arms. The citizens, in an amazement, called a council upon what was proper to be done; every one ſpoke as he pleaſed; the diſaffected magnified the danger, and filled the friends of the government with fear; the ſoldiers of the city guard were the moſt abject and moſt paltry of wretches; Maitland their officer, who died mad, was an infamous bankrupt, addicted to drunkenneſs and hypocriſy, a coward, and unacquainted with diſcipline. By protracting the time in ſending out deputies to the Chevalier, and receiving meſſages from him, the night was turned, and the morning began to appear. A coachman, who had carried one of theſe deputations, was urgent to get out of the town. At his earneſt entreaty the port was opened, and the Clan Cameron inſtantly ruſhed in, ſeized on the centries, and marching directly to the guard-houſe, they laid hold not only of the arms belonging to the town-guard, but alſo of all that they found in the hands of the volunteers and trained bands; a very fortunate circumſtance indeed for them, and which paved a way for the eaſy victory that was gained on the fourth day thereafter.

Before five in the morning both the city and ſuburbs were occupied, and they began to ſupply themſelves with ſuch neceſſaries as they wanted; clothes, linen, ſhoes, and bonnets, were prepared for their uſe, and the armourers rubbed up their weapons; the generality of them were in very ragged attire, having only a ſhort coat of coarſe tartan, a pair of plaid hoſe much worn, reaching ſcarce above the calf of the leg, their plaids and bonnets in the ſame condition.

By eight in the morning the adventurer arrived at Duddingſton, having fetched an half compaſs about the city for fear of the guns from the caſtle,

and about nine he entered the palace of Holyrood-houſe, Perth riding on his right, and Lord Elcho, who had joined him the night before, on his left hand; the multitude huzzaed as he paſſed along, and he ſeemed extremely well pleaſed with his reception. He was a ſlender young man, about five feet ten inches high, of a ruddy complexion, high noſed, large rolling brown eyes, long viſaged; his chin was pointed, and his mouth ſmall in proportion to his other features; his hair was red, but at that time he wore a pale peruke; he was in an Highland habit, with a blue ſaſh wrought with gold coming over his ſhoulder, red velvet breeches, a green velvet bonnet with a gold lace round it, and a white cockade, which was the croſs of St. Andrew; he wore a ſilver hilted broad ſword, was booted, and had a pair of piſtols before him: his ſpeech ſeemed to have more of the Engliſh than the Scottiſh accent, and no way painful and diſtorted, as that of a foreigner generally is.

Before cloſing this account I cannot but declare, that if an officer of the Duke of Cumberland's ſpirit had been there with one ſingle well appointed regiment, he would have diſperſed them. But where is ſuch an one as his Highneſs? One of far leſs abilities than he might have routed them.

Every thing having ſucceeded ſo well, the Chevalier's firſt care was to publiſh his father's and his own manifeſtoes: the heralds were ſeized, and proceeded to the croſs in their robes, with a trumpeter blowing a trumpet before them; and while the Clan Cameron ſurrounded the croſs in three diviſions, the doors and windows were crowded with ſpectators of the unuſual ſcene; the following manifeſtoes were read over, which, however well underſtood by the ſpectators, ſure I am the fortieth

man

man of the encircling guard did not know a ſingle ſentence of them.

His MAJESTY'*s moſt gracious Declaration.*

JAMES R.

JAMES VIII. by the grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving ſubjects of what degree or quality ſoever. Greeting.

Having always borne the moſt conſtant affection to our ancient kingdom of Scotland, from whence we derive our royal origin, and where our progenitors have ſwayed the ſceptre with glory, through a longer ſucceſſion of kings than any monarchy upon earth can at this day boaſt of, we cannot but behold, with the deepeſt concern, the miſeries they ſuffer under a foreign uſurpation, and the intolerable burdens daily added to their yoke, which become yet more ſenſible to us, when we conſider the conſtant zeal and affection the generality of our ſubjects of that our ancient kingdom have expreſſed for us on all occaſions, and particularly when we had the ſatisfaction of being ourſelves among them.

We ſee a nation always famous for valour, and highly eſteemed by the greateſt of foreign potentates, reduced to the condition of a province, under the ſpecious pretence of an union with a more powerful neighbour. In conſequence of this pretended union, grievous and unprecedented taxes have been laid on and levied with ſeverity, in ſpight of all the repreſentations that could be made to the contrary; and theſe have not failed to produce that poverty and decay of trade, which were eaſily foreſeen to be the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch oppreſſive meaſures.

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To prevent the juſt reſentment which could not but ariſe from ſuch uſage, our faithful Highlanders, a people always trained up and inured to arms, have been deprived of them: forts and citadels have been built and garriſoned, where no foreign invaſion could be apprehended, and a military government has been effectually introduced, as into a conquered country. It is eaſy to foreſee what muſt be the conſequences of ſuch violent and unprecedented proceedings, if a timely remedy be not put to them; neither is it leſs manifeſt, that ſuch a remedy can ever be obtained, but by our reſtoration to the throne of our anceſtors, into whoſe royal hearts ſuch deſtructive maxims could never find admittance.

We think it needleſs to call to mind how ſollicitous we have ever been, and how often we have ventured our royal perſon, to compaſs this great end, which the divine Providence ſeems now to have furniſhed us with the means of doing effectually, by enabling our good ſubjects in England to ſhake off the yoke under which they have likeways felt their ſhare of the common calamities. Our former experience leaves us no room to doubt of the chearful and hearty concurrence of our Scots ſubjects on this occaſion, towards the perfecting the great and glorious work: but that none may be deterred, by the memory of paſt miſcarriages, from returning to their duty, and being reſtored to the happineſs they formerly enjoyed, we, in this public manner, think fit to make known our gracious intentions towards all our people.

We do therefore, by this our royal declaration, abſolutely and effectually pardon and remit all treaſons, and other crimes hitherto committed againſt our royal father or ourſelves: from the benefit of which pardon we except none, but ſuch

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as ſhall, after the publication hereof, wilfully and maliciouſly oppoſe us, or thoſe, who ſhall appear, or endeavour to appear, in arms for our ſervice.

We farther declare, that we will, with all convenient ſpeed, call a free parliament, that, by the advice and aſſiſtance of ſuch an aſſembly, we may be enabled to repair the breaches cauſed by ſo long an uſurpation, to redreſs all grievances, and to free our people from the unſupportable burden of the malt-tax, and all other hardſhips and impoſitions which have been the conſequences of the pretended union, that ſo the nation may be reſtored to that honour, liberty, and independency, which it formerly enjoyed.

We likeways promiſe, upon our Royal word, to protect, ſecure, and maintain all our Proteſtant ſubjects in the free exerciſe of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and in the ſecure poſſeſſion of all churches, univerſities, colleges, and ſchools, that conform to the laws of the land.

All this we ſhall be ready to confirm in our firſt parliament, in which we promiſe to paſs any act or acts that ſhall be judged neceſſary to ſecure each private perſon in the full poſſeſſion of his liberty and property, to advance trade, to relieve the poor, and eſtabliſh the general welfare and tranquillity of the nation: in all ſuch matters we are fully reſolved to act always by the advice of our parliament, and to value none of our titles ſo much, as that of *Common Father of our People*, which we ſhall ever ſhew ourſelves to be, by our conſtant endeavours to promote the quiet and happineſs of all our ſubjects. And we ſhall be particularly ſollicitous to ſettle, encourage, and maintain the fiſhery and linen manufactory of the nation, which we are ſenſible may be of ſuch advantage to it, and

which,

which, we hope, are works reſerved for us to accompliſh.

As for thoſe who ſhall appear more ſignally zealous for the recovery of our juſt rights, and the proſperity of their country, we ſhall take effectual care to reward them according to their reſpective degrees and merits. And we particularly promiſe, as aforeſaid, our full, free, and general pardon to all officers, ſoldiers and ſailors, now engaged in the ſervice of the uſurper, whether of the ſea or land, provided that, upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle againſt our forces, they quit the ſaid unjuſt and unwarrantable ſervice, and return to their duty: in which caſe we ſhall pay them all the arrears that ſhall be at that time due to them from the uſurper: we ſhall grant to the officers the ſame commiſſions they ſhall then bear, if not higher; and to all ſoldiers and ſailors a gratification of a whole year's pay, for their forwardneſs in promoting our ſervice.

We farther promiſe and declare, that the vaſſals of ſuch as ſhall, without regard to our preſent declaration, obſtinately perſiſt in their rebellion, and thereby forfeit all pretenſions to our Royal clemency, ſhall be delivered from all ſervitude they were formerly bound to, and ſhall have grants and charters of their lands to be held immediately of the crown, provided they, upon the publication of this our declaration, declare openly for us, and join heartily in the cauſe of their country.

And having thus declared our gracious intentions to our loving ſubjects, we do hereby require and command them to be aſſiſting to us in the recovery of our rights, and of their own liberties: and that all our ſubjects, from the age of ſixteen to ſixty, do, upon the ſetting up of our Royal ſtandard,

ſtandard, immediately repair to it, or join themſelves to ſuch as ſhall firſt appear for us in their reſpective ſhires; and alſo to ſeize the horſes and arms of all ſuſpected perſons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever elſe may be neceſſary for the uſe of our forces.

We alſo ſtrictly command all receivers, collectors, or other perſons, who may be ſeiſed of any ſum or ſums of money, levied in the name or for the uſe of the uſurper, to retain ſuch ſum or ſums of money in their own hands, till they can pay them to ſome perſon of diſtinction appearing publicly for us, and demanding the ſame for our uſe and ſervice, whoſe receipt or receipts ſhall be a ſufficient diſcharge for all ſuch collectors, receivers, or other perſons, their heirs, &c.

Laſtly, We do hereby require all ſheriffs of ſhires, ſtewards of ſtewartries, and their reſpective deputies, magiſtrates of Royal boroughs, and bailies of regalities, and all others to whom it may belong, to publiſh this our declaration at the market-croſſes of their reſpective towns and boroughs, and there to proclaim us, under the penalty of being proceeded againſt according to law, for their neglect of ſo neceſſary and important a duty.

Given at our Court at Rome the 23d day of December 1743, in the forty-third year of our reign. J. R.

JAMES R.

WHEREAS we have a near proſpect of being reſtored to the throne of our anceſtors, by the good inclinations of our ſubjects towards us; and whereas, on account of the preſent ſituation of this country, it will be abſolutely impoſſible for us to be in perſon at the firſt ſetting up of our Royal

Royal ſtandard, and even ſome time after; we therefore eſteem it for our ſervice, and the good of our kingdoms and dominions, to nominate and appoint, as we hereby nominate, conſtitute and appoint, our deareſt ſon CHARLES Prince of Wales, to be ſole regent of our kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of all other our dominions during our abſence. It is our will and intention, that our ſaid deareſt ſon ſhould enjoy and exerciſe all that power and authority, which, according to the ancient conſtitution of our kingdoms, has been enjoyed and exerciſed by former regents. Requiring all our faithful ſubjects to give all due ſubmiſſion and obedience to our regent aforeſaid, as immediately repreſenting our Royal perſon, and acting by our authority. And we do hereby revoke all commiſſions of regency granted to any perſon or perſons whatſoever. And laſtly, We hereby diſpenſe with all formalities, and other omiſſions that may be herein contained, declaring this our commiſſion to be as firm and valid, to all intents and purpoſes, as if it had paſſed our great ſeals, and as if it were according to the uſual ſtile and forms.

Given under our ſign manual and privy ſignet at our Court at Rome the 23d day of December 1743, in the forty-third year of our reign.

(L. S.) J. R.

CHARLES P. R.

BY virtue and authority of the above commiſſion of regency, granted unto us by the King our Royal father, we are now come to execute his Majeſty's will and pleaſure, by ſetting up his Royal ſtandard,

ſtandard, and aſſerting his undoubted right to the throne of his anceſtors.

We do therefore, in his Majeſty's name, and purſuant to the tenor of his ſeveral declarations, hereby grant a free, full and general pardon for all treaſons, rebellions, and offences whatſoever, committed at any time before the publication hereof, againſt our Royal grandfather, his preſent Majeſty, and ourſelves. To the benefit of this pardon we ſhall deem juſtly intitled all ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects, as ſhall teſtify their willingneſs to accept of it, either by joining our forces with all convenient diligence, by ſetting up his Royal ſtandard in other places, by repairing for our ſervice to any place where it ſhall be ſet up; or, at leaſt, by openly renouncing all allegiance to the uſurper, and all obedience to his orders; or to thoſe of any perſon or perſons commiſſioned or employed by him, or acting avowedly for him.

As for thoſe who ſhall appear more ſignally zealous for the recovery of his Majeſty's juſt rights, and the proſperity of their country, we ſhall take effectual care to have them rewarded according to their reſpective degrees and merits; and we particularly promiſe, as aforeſaid, a full, free, and general pardon to all officers, ſoldiers, and ſailors, now engaged in the ſervice of the uſurper, provided that, upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle againſt his Majeſty's forces, they quit the ſaid unjuſt and unwarrantable ſervice, and return to their duty; ſince they cannot but be ſenſible, that no engagements, entered into with a foreign uſurper, can diſpenſe with the allegiance they owe to their natural ſovereign. And, as a farther encouragement to them to comply with their duty and our commands, we promiſe to every ſuch officer, the ſame, or a higher

poſt

poſt in our ſervice, than that which at preſent he enjoys, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to him at the time of his declaring for us, and to every ſoldier, trooper, and dragoon, who ſhall join us, as well as to every ſeaman and mariner of the fleet, who ſhall declare for and ſerve us, all their arrears, and a whole year's pay to be given to each of them as a gratuity, as ſoon as ever the kingdoms ſhall be in a ſtate of tranquillity.

We do hereby farther promiſe and declare, in his Majeſty's name, and by virtue of the above-ſaid commiſſion, that, as ſoon as ever that happy ſtate is obtained, he will, by and with the advice of a free parliament, wherein no corruption, nor undue influence whatſoever, ſhall be uſed to bias the votes of the electors or elected, ſettle, confirm, and ſecure all the rights, eccleſiaſtical and civil, of each of his reſpective kingdoms; his Majeſty being fully reſolved to maintain the Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed, and likewiſe the Proteſtant Churches of Scotland and Ireland conformable to the laws of each reſpective kingdom, together with a toleration to all Proteſtant Diſſenters; he being utterly averſe to all perſecution and oppreſſion whatſoever, particularly on account of conſcience and religion. And we ourſelves, being perfectly convinced of the reaſonableneſs and equity of the ſame principles, do, in conſequence hereof, farther promiſe and declare, that all his Majeſty's ſubjects ſhall be, by him and us, maintained in the full enjoyment and poſſeſſion of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and eſpecially of all churches, univerſities, colleges, and ſchools, conformable to the laws of the land, which ſhall ever be the unalterable rule of his Majeſty's government, and our own actions.

And,

And, that this our undertaking may be accompanied with as little preſent inconveniency as poſſible to the King's ſubjects, we do hereby authorize and require all civil officers and magiſtrates, now in place and office, to continue, till farther orders, to execute their reſpective employments in our name and by our authority, as far as may be requiſite for the maintenance of common juſtice, order, and quiet; willing and requiring them, at the ſame time, to give ſtrict obedience to ſuch orders and directions as may from time to time be iſſued out by us, or thoſe who ſhall be veſted with any ſhare of our authority and power.

We alſo command and require all officers of the revenue, cuſtoms and exciſe, all tax-gatherers of what denomination ſoever, and all others who may have any part of the public money in their hands, to deliver it immediately to ſome principal commander authorized by us, and take his receipt for the ſame, which ſhall be to them a ſufficient diſcharge; and, in caſe of refuſal, we authorize and charge all ſuch our commanders to exact the ſame for our uſe, and to be accountable for it to us, or our officers for that purpoſe appointed.

And having thus ſincerely, and in the preſence of Almighty God, declared the true ſentiments and intentions of the King our Royal father, as well as our own, in this expedition, we do hereby require and command all his loving ſubjects to be aſſiſting to us in the recovery of his juſt rights, and of their own liberties: and that all ſuch, from the age of ſixteen to ſixty, do forthwith repair to his Majeſty's Royal ſtandard, or join themſelves to ſuch as ſhall firſt appear in their reſpective ſhires for his ſervice: and alſo ſeize the horſes and arms of all ſuſpected perſons, and all ammunition,

forage, and all whatever elſe may be neceſſary for the uſe of our forces.

Laſtly, We do hereby require all mayors, ſheriffs, and other magiſtrates of what denomination ſoever, their reſpective deputies, and all others to whom it may belong, to publiſh this our declaration at the market-croſſes of their reſpective cities, towns and boroughs, and there to proclaim his Majeſty, under the penalty of being proceeded againſt according to law, for the neglect of ſo neceſſary and important a duty. For as we have hereby graciouſly and ſincerely offered a free and general pardon for all that is paſſed, ſo we, at the ſame time, ſeriouſly warn all his Majeſty's ſubjects, that we ſhall leave to the rigour of the law, all thoſe who ſhall from henceforth oppoſe us, or wilfully and deliberately do or concur in any act or acts civil or military, to the lett or detriment of us, our cauſe or title, or to the deſtruction, prejudice, or annoyance of thoſe, who ſhall, according to their duty and our intentions thus publicly ſignified, declare and act for us.

Given at Paris the 16th of May 1745.

C. P. R.

It is needleſs to take up the reader's time in a confutation of theſe papers, or of thoſe of the 22d of Auguſt, the 9th and 10th of October 1745, as this has been ſo frequently and ſo judiciouſly done: "They were," ſaid Sir William Young, "an abridgment of the many ſcandalous libels *, "calumnies, and falſhoods publiſhed againſt this "conſtitution and government," and were, in obedience to an order of the Houſe of Peers, with

* See Lord Lovat's Trial, p. 16.

the

the hearty concurrence of the Commons, burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

The reſolution of the Two Houſes of Parliament is too important not to be inſerted here, eſpecially as the ſame was not the effect of a ſudden tranſport of paſſion, but of the utmoſt deliberation and coolneſs; for on the 6th of November they were read in the Houſe of Lords, when a committee was appointed to conſider them, and to prepare a commentary upon them, which was to be communicated to the Houſe of Commons, who were deſired to come to a conference in the Painted Chamber at three o'clock in the afternoon of next day; the deſire was agreed to, a number was named, and met the Lords at the time appointed; and the reſolution being laid before the whole, it was unanimouſly confirmed and ratified. The tenor of which is as follows:

Reſolved,

"By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and "Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, that the two "papers reſpectively ſigned James R. and dated "at Rome the 23d day of December 1743, and "the four printed papers ſigned Charles P. R. "dated reſpectively the 16th day of May 1745, "Auguſt the 22d 1745, the 9th day of October "1745, and the 10th day of October 1745, are "falſe, ſcandalous, and traiterous libels, intended "to poiſon the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects; "containing the moſt malicious, audacious, and "wicked incitements to them to commit the moſt "abominable treaſons; groundleſs and infamous "calumnies and indignities againſt the govern-"ment, crown, and ſacred perſon of his moſt ex-"cellent Majeſty King George II. our only right-"ful and undoubted ſovereign; and ſeditious and

" preſumptuous declarations againſt the conſtitu-
" tion of this united kingdom; repreſenting the
" High Court of Parliament, now legally aſſem-
" bled by his Majeſty's authority, as an unlawful
" aſſembly; and all the acts of parliament, paſſed
" ſince the late happy revolution, as null and void;
" and that the ſaid printed papers are full of the
" utmoſt arrogance and inſolent affronts to the
" honour of the Britiſh nation, in ſuppoſing that
" his Majeſty's ſubjects are capable of being im-
" poſed upon, ſeduced or terrified, by falſe and
" opprobrious invectives, inſidious promiſes, or
" vain and impotent menaces; or of being de-
" luded to exchange the free enjoyment of their
" rights and liberties, as well civil as religious,
" under the well-eſtabliſhed government of a Pro-
" teſtant Prince, for popery and ſlavery under a
" Popiſh bigotted Pretender, long ſince excluded
" by the wiſeſt laws made to ſecure our excellent
" conſtitution, and abjured by the moſt ſolemn
" oaths."

Reſolved,

" By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
" Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, that, in ab-
" horrence and deteſtation of ſuch vile and trea-
" ſonable practices, the ſaid ſeveral printed papers
" be burnt by the hands of the common hangman,
" at the Royal Exchange at London, on Tueſday
" the 12th day of this inſtant November, at one
" of the clock in the afternoon; and that the
" ſheriffs of London do then attend, and cauſe the
" ſame to be burnt there accordingly." Theſe orders were punctually obeyed, amidſt the repeated acclamations of a prodigious multitude.

The declarations being read, which ſufficiently pointed out the intentions of the adventurer, and the

the ſpirit of his party, he next day ſent to the magiſtrates of Edinburgh a paper, requiring, on pain of military execution, 1000 tents, 2000 targets, 6000 pair of ſhoes, and a proportionable number of white iron cantines, againſt the 23d; all which was furniſhed at the time appointed.

Next day an order was read over the croſs, "requiring all the inhabitants of the city and ſuburbs, and of the county of Mid-Lothian, to give up at their own expence the whole arms and ammunition in their cuſtody, under pain of being deemed as rebels, and treated as ſuch." This order was likewiſe obeyed, and to ſtrengthen himſelf ſtill further, a drum beat up for ſoldiers in the Pretender's name: whoever could raiſe 40 men was to be made a captain, and whoever could bring 20 men into the field was to have a lieutenant's commiſſion. This encouragement had its effect alſo; for many raw and unexperienced young men, of no proſpect or fortunes, had commiſſions given them: but indeed there was not a proportionable number of private men; all wanted to be officers; they were anxious about preferment, and deſirous to command.

Among other advantages reaped from getting poſſeſſion of the city of Edinburgh, that of obtaining the printing-houſes was not the leaſt: one Drummond had already printed his declarations, and now the news paper, known by the name of the Caledonian Mercury, was by its conductor, James Grant, a Roman Catholic, moulded to his mind. The Chevalier was repreſented as another Charles XII. of Sweden, with this ſuperior difference, that the former was more cool and deliberate than he. When the King's Speech came out, though as fine a one as ever came from a throne, it was commented on, and called "The

" Elector of Hanover's Speech to his pretended " Parliament."

While the flame of rebellion was burning with unuſual fierceneſs, and while the flaſhes thereof daily increaſed, Cope was at Dunbar joined by the volunteers of the city of Edinburgh, and by two regiments of dragoons under Brigadier Fowkes, who had lately come from England to command them.

The Earl of Hume, with other noblemen and gentlemen, did every thing in their power to render his expedition agreeable; they furniſhed the troops with every thing neceſſary, and procured intelligence of the enemy's motions; nor indeed were theſe behind them in that particular, for on the very night of their debarking, one John Stuart, commonly called Roy, from the redneſs of his hair, mingled with the country people, and in the habit of a farmer counted them as they ſtepped on ſhore, or advanced to the place of rendezvous. This Roy Stuart was extremely well adapted to any undertaking, however arduous or deſperate: he had been a ſerjeant in one of the independent Highland companies, afterward quarter-maſter in the regiment of Greys, and at this time captain of grenadiers in Lord John Drummond's battalion; he had carried on the correſpondence between the Pretender and Lord Lovat, and now in hopes of making his fortune, he went on board a ſhip from Holland, landed at Harwich, and without ſtopping, arrived in the camp of the adventurer.

As Cope had reſolved to beat up the Pretender's quarters, ſo he ſet out for Haddington on the 19th, the very day on which the inſurgents were ſtrengthened by 350 of the name of Grant from Glenmoriſton. At Haddington the army was received in the moſt affectionate manner, not only by the towns

towns people, but by thoſe of the adjacent villages; and being extremely well accommodated, they next day marched weſtward to meet the enemy, who that very morning had ſet out from Edinburgh to give battle to the King's forces. Theſe, to their great misfortune, inſtead of marching to the Eſk, and planting a battery of cannon upon the bridge thereof, halted on a corn field near Preſton-pans, in order to wait for the enemy. Here they were regaled by the country people, and dined plentifully; but ſcarce was dinner over, when the Chevalier appeared with 2500 men, but without any kind of artillery, on the ſide of a hill, directly to the ſouthward of them. Both ſides raiſed an huzza, and now was the time for Cope to attack, while it was the buſineſs of the enemy to wait patiently till the twilight, if not till the dawn of the morning: the latter was what actually happened; for after ſpending a night of ſilence, about three in the morning they croſſed through ſome incloſures, and coming upon the flank of Cope's lines, they attacked them with hideous acclamations, gave them a full fire all at once, and then run in ſword in hand. The dragoons, ſtartled at the noiſe, fled off all at once, and diſordered their own infantry, which at this time was overpowered: the onſet was ſo ſudden, that in leſs than a minute the rout was total, and the carnage became terrible indeed, the Highlanders purſuing the poor ſoldiers with unſpeakable fierceneſs and antipathy; many of them being cut in pieces as they were clambering over ſome incloſures for their lives; others were overtaken, and cut in the moſt inhuman manner by broad ſwords and Lochaber axes, the authority of the officers being unable to reſtrain their rage.

In this battle about 360 of the King's troops were killed, among whom were the pious Colonel James Gardner, five captains, and one enſign. There were about 500 wounded, among whom were Lieutenant-colonel Whitney, and Major Bowles of Hamilton's dragoons. The fate of this laſt worthy gentleman was every way deplorable: they had cut him cruelly in eleven different places, and perhaps would have finiſhed him, had not O'Sullivan accidentally come by, when the Major ſaid to him, "Sir, you ſeem to be an officer and a "gentleman, pray don't ſuffer them to uſe me "ſo cruelly, for you ſee I am diſarmed." The Maſter of Torphichen was treated in much the ſame manner. About 83 officers were taken priſoners, and ſeveral of theſe were wounded or hurt, with about 1150 private men: all the reſt being either killed or wounded. And this with little loſs on the ſide of the Pretender's army; of whom there were only two captains, one lieutenant, and one enſign killed, with about forty private men, and eighty wounded. The artillery, conſiſting of ſix pieces of cannon and two cohorns, fell into their hands, as did all the tents, the military cheſt, with Cope's baggage, and the equipage of the other officers. Four thouſand and ninety pounds were only found in the military cheſt, the reſt being ſecured in the Fox man of war, or at Haddington; which was the only prudent ſtep that had been taken during this inglorious campaign. The dragoons loſt no more than fifty, including killed, wounded, and priſoners. And thus was an army of about 1624 foot, moſtly raw men, and but raiſed in the ſummer before, with two regiments of dragoons, deſtroyed almoſt in the twinkling of an eye, meerly through the ſullen behaviour and headſtrong obſtinacy of a general officer; who rode to Lauder with

with the ſhattered part of the dragoons, and from thence proceeded by himſelf to London, to be the meſſenger of his own diſaſter. On the 29th he appeared at St. James's, where the eyes of the whole court were fixed upon him; and the King coming into the drawing-room ſaid, "Well Cope, "I have heard lately much about you. Has there "been a battle?" Being anſwered, with a profound reverence, "there has;" his Majeſty replied, "I ſee you are ſafe and ſound; but what's "become of my men?" To this he was incapable of giving a ſenſible anſwer; which the Sovereign obſerving, he turned upon his heel, and, with a viſible concern, directed his diſcourſe to another perſon; and never after conſulted him in any plan of operation. While Cope was at London, the living witneſs of his own ſhame, and while the wounded, who had eſcaped from the enemy, carried the diſmal marks of a brutal fury in the numerous and inhuman cuts they had received, the Chevalier was at Holyrood-houſe, increaſing his party and forwarding his cauſe.

The conſequences of a battle are not to be judged of, from the number of the ſlain, or from a paſſage that may be opened to a fortreſs which one army was deſirous to beſiege, and another wanted to relieve. More ſubſtantial advantages flowed from the defeat of the King's troops at Preſton: almoſt the arms of the whole body of foot and of the volunteers, with ſeveral firelocks and broad ſwords belonging to the dragoons, fell into the hands of the victors, and theſe were diſtributed among the recruits, whom the Marquis of Tullibardin was ſending up to them. The whole of North Britain was now in their power. Officers were choſen to act in the Pretender's name: tho' indeed none would undertake to act, except in the

places where there was a force ſufficient to enjoin the orders: and this might be one of the reaſons of his delaying to march into England. Parties were ſent into different places to collect the public money, and to take up any arms that had been ſecreted. The goods in the cuſtom-houſe of Leith were ſold by auction; and in ſome places the land-tax was brought in: though it muſt be owned, many of the officers of the revenue quitted the kingdom, and carried off the money that was in their hands, to be delivered to thoſe who had a better right to receive it. Five thouſand guineas were raiſed from the citizens of Glaſgow, and about as much from the gentlemen in the neighbourhood; whoſe bureaus were broke epen, and repoſitories forcibly pulled down.

Such was the behaviour of the party whom he ſent out; nor could he with all his addreſs and policy palliate their conduct. A proclamation to make no rejoicing for the late victory, as it had been obtained by the blood of his Majeſty's ſubjects, was highly extolled by his friends; while the following declaration opened the mouths of his enemies, but particularly the clergy, whoſe affection to the Government ſhone at this time with a ſurprizing luſtre.

CHARLES *Prince of* Wales, *Regent of* Scotland, England, France, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging*;

WHEREAS we are informed, That ſeveral of our ſubjects, as well clergy as laity, in our antient city of Edinburgh, and neighbourhood thereof, did aſſociate and take up arms againſt us; and that many of them fled from their houſes, leſt they had been proſecuted, and made examples of, as their crimes demerited:

And

And whereas we have nothing at heart but the good of all our ſubjects, how much ſoever deluded by the prejudice of education or miſtaken intereſt; and being always diſpoſed, as a true father of our country, to diſplay that mercy and tenderneſs natural to us, and the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of our family:

We do therefore, in his Majeſty's name, hereby grant a full pardon to the perſons aſſociated as aforeſaid, for all treaſons, rebellions, and offences whatſoever, committed by them at any time before the publication of theſe preſents, whether againſt our Royal Grandfather of bleſſed memory, his preſent Majeſty, or ourſelves, diſpenſing with the generality hereof, and admitting the ſame to be as effectual, to all intents and purpoſes, as if all their names had been herein ſet down. Provided always, that the perſons aforeſaid preſent themſelves within twenty-four days after the publication hereof, to our truſty and beloved counſellor John Murray of Broughton eſquire, our ſecretary, or any one of our council appointed for that purpoſe, at our palace of Holyrood-houſe, or where elſe we ſhall be for the time, with a declaration that they ſhall live for the future as quiet and peaceable ſubjects to us and our government, otherways theſe preſents to be of no effect to them. Given at our palace of Holyrood-houſe, the twenty-fourth day of September, and of his Majeſty's reign the forty-fifth year, 1745.

CHARLES, P. R.

By his Highneſs's command, Jo. Murray.

This declaration, which had for his own ſake been better let alone, was productive of nothing advantageous to him; nor was the protection offered to the banks, if they would return from the caſtle

caſtle to their former buſineſs. His popularity in declaring, that if his ſcheme ſucceeded, "Scotland ſhould be his Hanover, the palace of Holyrood-houſe his Herenhauſen," was not believed: the bulk of the people were of the complexion formerly mentioned. Let the fewneſs of his followers, even after a regular army had been deſtroyed, ſpeak their loyalty. And a fruitleſs attempt to reduce the caſtle of Edinburgh, by cutting off all communication with the country, tended to confirm them the more in their affection to the Government.

This daring enterprize, to which he was ſo unequal, was the occaſion of the garriſon's firing ſeveral cannon, for keeping the avenues clear: and yet it is obſervable, that no cannon were fired until General Gueſt, the then commander of the forces, had intimated, by a letter, his intention to the magiſtrates of the city; which when they carried to the Chevalier, he ſent them the following reply, wrote by his own hand:

"Gentlemen,

"I am not a little ſurprized at the inhuman "orders of the commanders of the caſtle of Edin-"burgh, and which, they ſay, they received from "the Elector of Hanover. If he looked upon you "as his ſubjects, he would never require of you "what he knows to be out of your power to "grant. It is impoſſible to prevent inconvenien-"cies in caſes of this nature; but I ſhall take care "to have all ſufferers indemnified, as ſoon as the "public tranquillity is reſtored, and in the mean "time ſhall make full repriſals upon the eſtates of "all thoſe who are abetters of the German Go-"vernment.

"C. P. R."

This

This chimerical blockade laſted but three days, when they laid hold of a packet from London, directed to the garriſon of the fort, to ſpare the city as much as poſſible; but to keep the avenues clear, till the force deſtined for its relief ſhould arrive among them. The Chevalier, to be before-hand with this gentle and pacific order, cauſed the following proclamation to be paſted up in the public places of the town.

"C. P. R.

"The Prince Regent taking into conſideration "the many murders committed upon the innocent "inhabitants of the city of Edinburgh, has of his "innate clemency, the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic "of his family, yielded to the ſupplications of the "diſtreſſed, and conſidering that juſtice ought to "give place to mercy, when the good of a people "require it, he therefore takes the blockade off the "caſtle, and commands, upon his part, all hoſtilities to ceaſe."

He ever affected to treat the perſon of his Majeſty King George with indignity; and no ſooner heard of the Parliament being ſummoned to meet Oct. 17th, than he emitted a declaration, diſcharging the ſame, and next day publiſhed his laſt manifeſto.

CHARLES *Prince of* Wales, *&c. Regent of the Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging: Unto all his Majeſty's Subjects, of what degree ſoever, Greeting.*

CHARLES, P. R.

AS ſoon as we, conducted by the Providence of God, arrived in Scotland, and were joined by a handful

a handful of our royal father's ſubjects, our firſt care was to make public his moſt gracious declaration; and, in conſequence of the large powers by him veſted in us, in quality of regent, we alſo emitted our own manifeſto, explaining and enlarging the promiſes formerly made, according as we came to be better acquainted with the inclinations of the people of Scotland. Now that it has pleaſed God ſo far to ſmile on our undertaking, as to make us maſter of the antient kingdom of Scotland, we judge it proper, in this public manner, to make manifeſt what ought to fill the hearts of all his Majeſty's ſubjects, of what nation and province ſoever, with comfort and ſatisfaction.

We therefore hereby, in his Majeſty's name, declare, That his ſole intention is to re-inſtate all his ſubjects in the full enjoyment of their religion, laws, and liberties; and that our preſent attempt is not undertaken in order to enſlave a free people, but to redreſs and remove the encroachments made upon them; not to impoſe upon any a religion which they diſlike, but to ſecure them all the enjoyment of thoſe which are reſpectively at preſent eſtabliſhed among them, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland; and if it ſhall be deemed proper that any further ſecurity be given to the eſtabliſhed church or clergy, we hereby promiſe, in his name, That he ſhall paſs any law that his Parliament ſhall judge neceſſary for that purpoſe.

In conſequence of the rectitude of our royal Father's intentions, we muſt farther declare his ſentiments with regard to the national debt: that it has been contracted under an unlawful government, nobody can diſown, no more than that it is now a moſt heavy load upon the nation; yet, in regard that it is for the greateſt part due to thoſe very ſubjects whom he promiſes to protect, cheriſh and defend,

fend, he is reſolved to take the advice of his Parliament concerning it, in which he thinks he acts the part of a juſt prince, who makes the good of his people the ſole rule of his actions.

Farthermore, we here in his name declare, That the ſame rule laid down for the funds, ſhall be followed with reſpect to every law or act of parliament ſince the revolution; and in ſo far as, in a free and legal parliament, they ſhall be approved, he will confirm them. With reſpect to the pretended union of the two nations, the King cannot poſſibly ratify it, ſince he has had repeated remonſtrances againſt it from each kingdom; and ſince it is inconteſtible, that the principal point then in view, was the excluſion of the Royal Family from their undoubted right to the crown, for which purpoſe the groſſeſt corruptions were openly uſed to bring it about. But whatever may be hereafter deviſed for the joint benefit of both nations, the King will moſt readily comply with the requeſt of his parliaments to eſtabliſh.

And now that we have, in his Majeſty's name, given you the moſt ample ſecurity for your religion, properties and laws, that the power of a Britiſh ſovereign can grant; we hereby for ourſelves, as heir apparent to the crown, ratify and confirm the ſame in our own name, before Almighty God, upon the Faith of a Chriſtian, and the honour of a Prince.

Let me now expoſtulate this weighty matter with you, my father's ſubjects, and let me not omit this firſt public opportunity of awakening your underſtandings, and of diſpelling that cloud, which the aſſiduous pens of ill-deſigning men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to caſt on the truth. Do not the pulpits and congregations of clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threats

threats of popery, ſlavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power, which are now ready to be impoſed upon you by the formidable powers of France and Spain? Is not my Royal father repreſented as a blood-thirſty tyrant, breathing out nothing but deſtruction to all thoſe who will not immediately embrace an odious religion? Or, have I myſelf been better uſed? But liſten only to the naked truth.

I, with my own money, hired a ſmall veſſel, ill provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrived in Scotland, attended by ſeven perſons; I publiſh the King my father's declaration, and proclaim his title, with pardon in one hand, and in the other liberty of conſcience, and the moſt ſolemn promiſes to grant whatever a free parliament ſhall propoſe for the happineſs of a people. I have, I confeſs, the greateſt reaſon to adore the goodneſs of Almighty God, who has, in ſo remarkable a manner, protected me and my ſmall army through the many dangers to which we were at firſt expoſed, and who has led me in the way to victory, and to the capital of this ancient kingdom, amidſt the acclamations of the King my father's ſubjects: why then is ſo much pains taken to ſpirit up the minds of the people againſt this my undertaking?

The reaſon is obvious, it is, leſt the real ſenſe of the nation's preſent ſufferings ſhould blot out the remembrance of paſt misfortunes, and of the outcries formerly raiſed againſt the Royal Family. Whatever miſcarriages might have given occaſion to them, they have been more than atoned for ſince; and the nation has now an opportunity of being ſecured againſt the like for the future.

That our family has ſuffered exile during theſe fifty-ſeven years, every body knows. Has the nation, during that period of time, been the more happy and flouriſhing for it? Have you found

reaſon

reaſon to love and cheriſh your governors, as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family, upon whom a faction unlawfully beſtowed the diadem of a rightful Prince, retained a due ſenſe of ſo great a truſt and favour? Have you found more humanity and condeſcenſion in thoſe who were not born to a crown, than in my Royal forefathers? Have their ears been open to the cries of the people? Have they, or do they conſider only the intereſt of theſe nations? Have you reaped any other benefit from them, than an immenſe load of debts? If I am anſwered in the affirmative, why has their government been ſo often railed at in all your public aſſemblies? Why has the nation been ſo long crying out in vain for redreſs againſt the abuſes of parliaments, upon account of their long duration, the multitude of placemen, which occaſions their venality, the introduction of penal laws, and, in general, againſt the miſerable ſituation of the kingdom at home and abroad? All theſe, and many more inconveniencies muſt now be removed, unleſs the people of Great Britain be already ſo far corrupted, that they will not accept of freedom when offered to them; ſeeing the King, on his reſtoration, will refuſe nothing that a free parliament can aſk for the ſecurity of the religion, laws, and liberty of his people.

The fears of the nation, from the powers of France and Spain, appear ſtill more vain and groundleſs. My expedition was undertaken unſupported by either: but indeed, when I ſee a foreign force brought by my enemies againſt me, and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Heſſians, and Swiſs, the Elector of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his government againſt the King's ſubjects, is it not high time for the King my father

to accept alſo of the aſſiſtance of thoſe who are able, and who have engaged to ſupport him? But will the world, or any one man of ſenſe in it, infer from thence, that he inclines to be a tributary Prince, rather than an independent monarch? Who has the better chance to be independent on foreign powers? He, who with the aid of his own ſubjects, can wreſt the government out of the hands of an intruder: or he, who cannot, without aſſiſtance from abroad, ſupport his government, though eſtabliſhed by all the civil power, and ſecured by a ſtrong military force, againſt the undiſciplined part of thoſe he had ruled over ſo many years? Let him, if he pleaſes, try the experiment, let him ſend off his foreign hirelings, and put the whole upon the iſſue of a battle; I will truſt only to the King my father's ſubjects, who were or ſhall be engaged in mine and their country's cauſe: but, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition he can make, I ſtill truſt in the juſtice of my cauſe, the valour of my troops, and the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, to bring my entetprize to a glorious iſſue.

It is now time to conclude, and I ſhall do it with this reflection. Civil wars are ever attended with rancour and ill-will, which party-rage never fails to produce in the minds of thoſe, whom different intereſts, principles, or views, ſet in oppoſition to one another; I therefore earneſtly require it of my friends, to give as little looſe as poſſible to ſuch paſſions; this will prove the moſt effectual means to prevent the ſame in the enemies of our royal cauſe. And this my declaration will vindicate to all poſterity the nobleneſs of my undertaking, and the generoſity of my intentions.

Given at our palace of Holyrood houſe, the 10th day of October 1745. C. P. R.

By his Highneſs's command, J. Murray.

This

This declaration, condemned by Parliament, was followed by "An addreſs to the army and people," wrote by S. Sheridan, in the moſt inſinuating and perſuaſive manner; and as it is the duty of a ſkilful phyſician to lay open the moſt dangerous wounds, that the ſame may be more ſpeedily and effectually cured, ſo it is the duty of a faithful hiſtorian, or of an honeſt man, that beſt of characters, to give a genuine narrative of ſuch arguments as an invading party uſe, to the intent the ſame may be anſwered in due time, and that a remedy may be prepared if an incident of the like nature ſhould happen again.

That great politician and artful reaſoner, after inſiſting upon what is laid down in the Pretender's manifeſto, obſerves, that, of all crimes, parricide is of the deepeſt dye! And that of the ſeveral ſpecies of it, none could come up to that of dethroning and torturing a king; which laſt, the keeping him from his right muſt neceſſarily imply; a crime, continued he, unknown to the Heathens, and at which, "Pilate, the Roman governor, cried out "with horror, *What, crucify your King?*" On this he dwells for two pages; then proceeds to remove the objection raiſed againſt the reality of his Maſter's birth, whom he calls, "the moſt ac-"compliſhed gentleman in Europe;" he inſiſts upon the depoſitions of the ſeveral maids of honour to the queen dowager Katherine of Portugal, and others, with regard to it, and puts the queſtion, how ſuch a baſe thing could enter into the heart of a man? But, proceeds he, "What has "the youth (meaning the Adventurer) done againſt "you, a youth adorned with ſuch charms, that he "wants nothing to be admired but to be ſeen?" Then he ſhews, that the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion under a Roman Catholic King is not

impracticable; as in the case of the subjects of Saxony, and those of the Palatinate; he then reflects upon the present Royal Family, and puts the question, "Have they not been cyphers since ever "they came among you, and the very ridicule of "those over whom they govern?" So concludes, "with beseeching them to return to their allegi- "ance, that they may not henceforth be a proverb "among other nations for having expelled their "King; whose ancestors were the fountain, whence "they and theirs had derived their titles, their "honours, and their arms." To these I shall only make the following answer.

Parricide is certainly a crime of the deepest dye, and that of dethroning a King is of the worst species; and I wish that neither Sheridan, nor any of his cabal, had been guilty of such an intention: but no definition of parricide, that implies guilt with regard to King James, can be applied to us, unless his own abandoning a throne upon the peoples praying for a redress of grievances, can be called by such a terrible and odious name; far less indeed can it be applied to the case of the Pretender, who never was in possession, and who, if the real son of the abdicated James, must, according to the laws of reason and revelation, have the forfeiture of his father entailed upon him. Tho' parricide is a crime sufficient to excite the astonishment of a Heathen, yet Pilate, by sitting in judgment, and trying our Saviour, whom his accusers called "King of the Jews," is a demonstration, that he thought kings themselves were accountable for their conduct; or, in other words, he judged, that both kings and subjects were to be ballanced in the scales of the law.

The oaths of the witnesses concerning the birth of the Chevalier, and of the maids in particular, shall

ſhall not be weakened by me; one thing is certain, theſe incomparable ladies have ſaid ſo little upon the ſubject, that it is aſtoniſhing they ſhould be named; nor is it a new thing, to find a ſpurious breed of pretenders to a crown, in the Scots, Engliſh, or other annals; for no leſs than two have appeared in Sweden, ſince the death of Charles XII. As to the accompliſhments of the old Chevalier, I can ſay nothing, except from his manifeſtoes, and in theſe I preſume will appear the charms of his Son. As to the conſiſtency of enjoying the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion, under a Roman Catholic King, let it be conſidered, that the example of the King of Poland, is truly the worſt he could think of, ſince that monarch, and his father, like other crowned heads, only profeſſed the Roman catholic doctrines to qualify themſelves for a throne. The ſame thing, though in a leſs degree, could be obſerved of the Elector Palatine; and, of late, we have ſeen that the Brother of the Duke de Deux Ponts has commenced a Roman, to gain the favour of the Court of Verſailles, ſince he is out of all hopes of ever enjoying the Crown of Sweden. His reflections upon the Royal Family are ſurely ill grounded, and as the eyes of Europe in general, and the Britiſh nation in particular, are open, they muſt eaſily ſee, as clear as noon-day, the malignity and wickedneſs of the ungenerous aſperſion.

Nothing now hindered his advancing into England except the conduct of Lord Lovat, whom they were ſolliciting by frequent letters to join them: but that nobleman was not willing to throw off the maſk and to appear openly. He had been a rebel in his heart even in the year 1715; but did not join the Pretender's ſtandard becauſe one Mackenzie of Frazerdale, who had married the heireſs of Lovat, headed the clan, to the excluſion

of him, as he was the heir male of that family. He indeed ſtaid at home, but no ſooner did the news arrive that the Duke of Argyle had defeated the rebels, than he muſtered up thoſe very men who had appeared at the battle of Sheriffmuir againſt the Royaliſts, and at their head he joined thoſe in arms for the government.

At this time he imagined, that he might play the ſame game: his ſcheme being to ſend out his ſon and his followers, while he himſelf remained at home, big with the hopes of being rewarded for their ſervices if ſucceſsful; but that his ſon only ſhould be the ſufferer if the undertaking failed.

The moſt earneſt intreaties openly to throw off the maſk were to no purpoſe: he contented himſelf with writing letters full of the moſt fulſome flattery. And indeed his pretext was the more plauſible, as the twenty companies of independent Highlanders had now been raiſed, and appeared openly for the Government; and that the Earl of Loudon had arrived in a ſhip from London, to take upon him the command of that corps. Toward the latter end of October the Adventurer reſolved on decamping. He was convinced that he had received all he could expect from the north part of the kingdom, and that nothing was to be done in the other diſtricts, and therefore prepared to ſet out for England: where, from the firſt moment of his public appearance, every proper ſtep had been taken to defeat his intention and deſign.

The End of the FOURTH BOOK.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

BOOK V.

CONTENTS.

The State of England, — *the Preparations againſt the Pretender*, — *the Aſſociation at* York, — *his Royal Highneſs puts himſelf at the Head of the Forces*, — *the Route of both Armies.*

THE Pretender having decamped from Holy-rood-houſe, and ſent his troops by different roads into England, did on the 8th of November croſs the Solway Firth with an army of 5520 men, ſupported by 13 pieces of braſs cannon 12 pounders, which he had received from France, beſides thoſe taken at the battle of Preſton-pans: he had plenty of ammunition, and had no doubt of being properly ſupplied with proviſion in a more opulent country, abounding with every convenience, and where the harveſt had been remarkably plentiful.

If we take a view of England and Wales, we may ſay with great certainty, that it contains more inhabitants than any diſtrict of the ſame dimenſions in the known world: there are almoſt ſeven times the number of people in theſe than there are in Scotland, though the extent of the country is but one ſixth part more; a plain demonſtration that South Britain is by far the finer country, and at the ſame time a convincing proof not only of the ſmall encouragement given to the latter, but of their own lethargic idleneſs to cultivate the fiſheries, ſince a right improvement of theſe would ſoon ſet the northern upon an equal footing with the ſouthern diviſion.

The whole of England lies in ſuch cheriſhing and wholſome climates, that the ground itſelf is productive of their liberty: no nation poſſeſſes more real advantages, whether we conſider the fertility of the ſoil, the temperature of the air, the preciouſneſs of its mines, the abundance of its foreſts, the tallneſs of its trees, the capaciouſneſs and ſafety of its harbours, the ſplendor and magnificence of its cities, the cleanlineſs of its villages, the largeneſs of its cattle, the comelineſs and beauty of its men, ſome of whom are as remarkable for improving in the ſciences, as others have been conſpicuous for a martial ſpirit, and admired for bravery and conduct. The Duke of Cumberland was born in her boſom; nor is it one of her leaſt glories to have given birth to ſo great and illuſtrious a ſon; happy and independent in herſelf, but ſtill more ſo, if ſhe knew the art of contentment, and was not ready on every occaſion to be hurried into ſchemes deſtructive of her true and laſting intereſt: could we ſuppoſe a crowd of Spaniards to ſettle in it, their deſcendants would in time work out the moroſeneſs of their diſpoſition;

whereas

whereas ſhould an Engliſh colony ſettle in Spain or in Africa, the offſpring of theſe would gradually be of the ſame dull genius with the natives, and become devotees to a ſuperſtitious and gloomy religion.

But England is not more happy in her natural advantages, than in her conſtitution and government both in church and ſtate; which to erect was the work of ages, and at the expence of an immenſity of blood and treaſure. During the deſolating civil wars between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, the natives of England might be ſaid to be tillers of the ground, and in bondage to their ſuperiors; ſo that whenever a battle was gained, be victor who will, the commons were ſure to be ſlaves; but when the Two Houſes were united in the perſon and family of Henry VII. then was a ceſſation from domeſtic broils, the people began to look about with more eaſe, and the fruit of their enquiry was freedom, which ſoon formed them into a commercial ſtate. Senſible of their advantages, they began to ſend repreſentatives to parliament from among themſelves; and from this origin that conſtitution aroſe, which has been the glory of every Engliſhman, and which they apprehended the rebellion was calculated to overturn.

The regency in the King's abſence, upon being aſſured of the Pretender's landing, iſſued out a a proclamation ſetting 30,000 *l.* on his head, which when he ſaw, he anſwered it by a counter-proclamation, which we ſhall here ſet down.

Lochergag, Auguſt 22, 1745.

WHEREAS upon ſetting up our Royal ſtandard, for the recovery of our juſt right to the throne of our anceſtors, we were not a little ſurprized

ſurprized to find that the Elector of Hanover had not only contrary to the moderation of Chriſtian Princes, but even to humanity itſelf, given an encouragement to parricide, by ſetting 30,000 *l.* upon the head of our Royal father, or our own, and ſo make us fall a ſacrifice to the hands of bloody and cruel men, as our great grandfather King Charles I. of glorious memory had done near a century ago: this is therefore requiring all our liege ſubjects to endeavour to take the Elector of Hanover dead or alive, if he ſhould venture to land in any of the King's dominions, and they ſhall receive a reward of 30,000 *l.* in conſideration of ſo good and important a ſervice.

Signed CHARLES, P. R.

By his Highneſs's command,

JOHN MURRAY.

It is needleſs to add any thing to the obſervations on this placart, further than that it was printed on the ſame type, the ſame letter, and the ſame ſize as the manifeſtoes formerly named. As the rebellion continued to increaſe, they diſpatched a courier to Hanover with the important news; his Majeſty, without heſitating a moment, ſet out for his regal dominions, and on the 29th of Auguſt came to St. James's.

Scarce had he arrived, when addreſſes came in from every quarter; the merchants and trading part of the city of London aſſociated, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to fight for their religion and liberty, and in defence of the King's perſon and government; men of property of all ranks and orders crowded in with liberal ſubſcriptions for raiſing forces, beyond the example of former times, and uncompelled by law. The admirals

mirals and captains in the navy agreed to levy a regiment of foot, for paying which they appropriated their own ſalaries; the proprietors of the Prince Frederic and Duke privateers gave a loan to the King of 700,000 *l.* which was their ſhare of ſome rich prizes, to be repaid as the parliament ſhould direct; the clergy formed their hearers by precept, and excited by example to exert themſelves in ſupport of the crown, their own liberties, and the reformed religion; the Biſhops of Oxford, Hereford, Worceſter, Briſtol, and Durham, with Dr. Potter, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, wrote circular letters to the inferior clergy of their dioceſes, enjoining them to rouſe up and to cultivate in their reſpective pariſhes a ſpirit of loyalty and affection; and Dr. Herring, the Archbiſhop of York, who afterward filled the ſee of Canterbury, rode night and day to bring the nobles and gentlemen of the ridings in that extenſive county to a meeting at the caſtle of York, where he made a pathetic harangue to promote an aſſociation.

A SPEECH made by his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of York, *at preſenting an Aſſociation entered into at the Caſtle of* York, Sept. 24, 1745.

My Lords, Gentlemen, and Reverend Brethren of the Clergy,

I AM deſired by the Lords Lieutenants of the ſeveral Ridings, to open to you the reaſons of our preſent aſſembling; and as the advertiſement, which has called us together, is in every body's hands, and the fact now ſpeaks itſelf too plainly, a few words will be ſufficient on the occaſion.

It was ſome time before it was believed (I would to God it had gained credit ſooner) but now every child knows it, that the Pretender's ſon is in Scotland;

land; has ſet up his ſtandard there; has gathered and diſciplined an army of great force; receives daily increaſe of numbers; is in poſſeſſion of the capital city there; has defeated a ſmall part of the King's forces; and is advancing with haſty ſteps towards England.

What will be the iſſue of this rapid progreſs muſt be left to the Providence of God. However, what is now incumbent upon us to do, is to make the beſt proviſion we can againſt it; and every gentleman, I dare ſay every man in England, will think it his wiſdom and his intereſt to guard againſt the miſchievous attempts of theſe wild and deſperate ruffians.

But the great miſchief to be feared, which ought to alarm us exceedingly, and put us immediately on our defence, is the certain evidence, which every day opens more and more, that theſe commotions in the north are but part of a great plan concerted for our ruin.—They have begun under the countenance, and will be ſupported by the forces of France and Spain, our old and inveterate (and late experience calls upon me to add, our ſavage and blood-thirſty) enemies.—A circumſtance that ſhould fire the indignation of every honeſt Engliſhman. If theſe deſigns ſhould ſucceed, and popery and arbitrary power come in upon us, under the influence and direction of theſe two tyrannical and corrupted Courts, I leave you to reflect what would become of every thing that is valuable to us!

We are now bleſſed with the mild adminiſtration of a juſt and Proteſtant King, who is of ſo ſtrict adherence to the laws of our country, that not an inſtance can be pointed out, during his whole reign, wherein he made the leaſt attempt upon the liberty, or property, or religion, of a ſingle perſon.

ſon. But if the ambition and pride of France and Spain is to dictate to us, we muſt ſubmit to a man to govern us under their hated and accurſed influence, who brings his religion from Rome, and the rules and maxims of his government from Paris and Madrid.

For God's ſake, gentlemen, let us conſider this matter as becomes us, and let no time be loſt to guard againſt this prodigious ruin. To your immortal honour be it ſpoken, you have conſidered it; and are now met together to call in the unanimous conſent and aſſiſtance of this great county. This county, as it exceeds every other for its extent and riches, ſo it very naturally takes the lead of the inferior ones. And it will be extremely to our credit, give courage to the friends of the beſt conſtitution in the world, damp the ſpirit of its enemies at home (if any ſuch can be conceived in Britain at this dangerous criſis) and be an inſtruction to thoſe abroad, that there is ſtill ſpirit and honeſty enough among us to ſtand up in defence of our common country. This will be the uſe of an unanimous and hearty declaration of fidelity to our country, and loyalty to our King. But the times, gentlemen, call for ſomething more than this! Something muſt be done, as well as ſaid.—And the fund for our defence, already begun, and now to be propoſed to this great aſſembly, will, it is hoped, from reaſons of public example and public ſafety, meet with the hearty concurrence of every individual that compoſes it. And at the ſame time that your hearts go along with the aſſociation, your hands will be open to ſupport the neceſſary meaſures of ſelf-defence.

As to you, my Reverend brethren, I have not long had the honour to preſide among you; but from the experience I have had, and what I have always

always heard of your honeſt love to your country (if you permit me to ſay ſo) I will be your ſecurity to the public, that you will decline no pains to inſtruct and animate your people; nor expence, according to your circumſtances, to ſtand up againſt popery and arbitrary power, under a French or a Spaniſh government.—We ſcorn the policies of the Court of Rome, have no intereſts ſeparate from the people, but on every occaſion, where our country is concerned, look upon ourſelves as incorporated with the warmeſt defenders of it; or, if we do deſire to be diſtinguiſhed, it will be by our ardor and zeal to preſerve our happy conſtitution.

Let us unite then, gentlemen, as one man, to ſtop this dangerous miſchief, from which union no man ſurely can withdraw, or withhold his aſſiſtance, who is not liſted into the wicked ſervice of a French or Spaniſh invaſion, or wholly unconcerned for the fate of his bleeding country.

May the great God of battles ſtretch out his all-powerful hand to defend us; inſpire an union of hearts and hands among all ranks of people; a clear wiſdom into the councils of his Majeſty; and a ſteady courage and reſolution into the hearts of his generals!

Scarce had his Grace finiſhed his ſpeech, when the whole aſſembly unanimouſly agreed to enter into an aſſociation, the tenor whereof is as follows.

The ASSOCIATION.

WHEREAS there is now a horrid and unnatural rebellion carried on in Scotland by Papiſts, and other wicked and treacherous perſons, countenanced and ſupported by the old and inveterate enemies of our country, and the religion and liberties thereof, the crowns of France and

Spain, in order to dethrone his preſent Majeſty King George, the only rightful and lawful King of theſe realms; and having ſubverted our religion, laws, and liberties (which God forbid) to ſet upon the throne a Popiſh Pretender, a dependent and a ſlave to thoſe tyrannous Courts: We the Lord Archbiſhop of York, Lords Lieutenants, Nobility, Deputy Lieutenants, Juſtices of the Peace, Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and others of the county of York, whoſe names are ſubſcribed to this writing, and every of us, being of opinion, that in times ſo full of danger and treaſonable practices as theſe are, an union of our hearts and forces will be moſt conducing to his Majeſty's ſafety, and the public good of our country, do voluntarily and willingly bind ourſelves every one of us to the other jointly and ſeverally, in the band of one firm and loyal ſociety, and do hereby promiſe, that with our whole powers, bodies, lives and eſtates, we and every of us will ſtand by and aſſiſt each other in the ſupport and defence of his Majeſty's ſacred perſon and government, and will withſtand, offend, and purſue, as well by force of arms, as by all other means, the ſaid Popiſh Pretender and traitors, and alſo all manner of perſons, of what ſtate ſoever they be, and their abettors, that ſhall attempt, act, counſel, or conſent to any thing that ſhall tend to the harm of his Majeſty King George, or of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, or any of their iſſue, or to the ſubverſion of his Majeſty's government. And we do by this inſtrument declare, that no one of us ſhall, for any reſpect of perſons or cauſes, or for fee or reward, ſeparate ourſelves from this aſſociation, or fail in the proſecution thereof during our lives.

Dated at the caſtle of York the 24th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1745.

Every

Every freeholder engaged for a year's valued rent of his eſtate, and in a ſhort time about 33,000*l.* was paid down; ſome went ſo far as to raiſe companies, among whom was William Thornton of Cattel, who paid and clothed a company of 70 men, whom he denominated the Yorkſhire Blues. The northern counties followed the example of York, and the Diſſenters, following the ſteps of the church, contributed according to their capacity; indeed they were equally intereſted in the important affair, the church of Rome having almoſt the ſame antipathy againſt them all. The doctrines of the churches of England and Scotland were nearly the ſame, though theſe differed widely in their diſcipline and worſhip, as Dr. Blair, one of the Prebendaries of W———r, certainly muſt know, ſince he came under the moſt ſacred engagements to the Preſbytery of Dunbar never to deviate from the latter, and has ſince bound himſelf under the ſtrongeſt ties to adhere to the former. As no other occurs to me who came under obligations to both churches, I therefore have in a manner appealed to him, hoping he may ſpeak truth at times.

The Quakers furniſhed woollen waiſtcoats to enable the troops to go through their winter campaign. The Roman Catholics, apprehenſive that in the event of the Pretender's ſucceſs their eſtates and properties would become a prey to foreigners, declared their averſion to a change. On the theatre was revived the tragedy of Perkin Warbeck *, in which was exhibited a lively picture of the deſolation and havock cauſed in England, when he

* Said to be Duke of York, and ſon to Edward IV. anno 1497.

marched

marched into that kingdom with ſome Scotch forces then under the command of their King*.

The nobility and gentry ſollicited for liberty to be allowed to raiſe forces; the Lord High Chancellor Yorke, and Mr. Onſlow, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, ſet the example; the Duke of Montagu, Maſter-General of the Ordnance, raiſed a regiment of foot and another of horſe; the Duke of Bedford raiſed one in London, and another in Bedfordſhire; the Dukes of Bolton and Ancaſter, with the Marquis of Granby, levied each a regiment of foot, as did the Earls of Halifax, Berkley, Cholmondely, and Edgcumbe; the Viſcounts of Falmouth and Harcourt; Lords Gower and Herbert. In ſhort, about 15 regiments were raiſed, and ſo properly ſtationed, that the friends of the Pretender were deterred from riſing in arms. The judges, counſellors, and attornies at law, ſurrounded the throne, ſolliciting to be permitted to hazard their lives for their country, and to raiſe forces at their own expence for its protection.

The city of London put their militia in order, and commanded that of Weſtminſter to hold themſelves in readineſs to march; and on the 10th of September the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen waited on their Sovereign with an offer of their ſervice, declaring, "That upon every occaſion they were "ready to ſacrifice all that was dear and valuable "to them in defence of his Majeſty's perſon and "family, and in ſupport of the happy conſtitution "both in church and ſtate." On which ſix regiments were raiſed, who abjured the Pretender, and took the oaths to the government; the Court of Lieutenancy followed the example; the merchants proteſted their loyalty; the univerſities of Oxford

* James IV. who afterward married King Henry the VIIth's eldeſt daughter.

and Cambridge preſented addreſſes, while the other towns through the kingdom, like the members of the body influenced by the head, followed the example of the metropolis, and the trading part of the nation followed the ſteps of the London merchants.

The four battalions of guards were augmented, and on the 5th of September a proclamation was emitted againſt Papiſts and Nonjurors, to take effect after the 19th. An advertiſement was publiſhed from the war-office, offering 6*l.* bounty-money to every able-bodied man, five feet ſeven inches high without ſhoes, under thirty years of age, if before the 24th of September he would liſt in the guards. On the 18th orders were ſent to the ſeveral counties of England and Wales to raiſe the militia, and arms were diſtributed among them; and on the 14th a proclamation was iſſued out, importing, that every man, who from that time till January, ſhould inliſt in any regiment of horſe, foot or dragoons, was to receive his diſcharge in two years, if the ſame was required. On the 23d the regiment of Scots Greys arrived at Graveſend from Flanders, as did the three battalions of the foot guards, the foot regiments of the Major-Generals Pulteney, Howard, Braag, Johnſon; Brigadiers Douglas and Cholmondely; and Colonel Sowles. All theſe had been in the late battle at Fontenoy; and though extremely thinned in the late engagement, as conſtituting a part of that body, which headed by the Duke of Cumberland had pierced between the redoubt of Fontenoy and the Wood of Barri, yet they were now recruited, and their complements were full. His Royal Highneſs directed their rout, and even accompanied them to within 20 miles of Oſtend, when again he returned back to the army.

On

On the 26th about 1500 merchants, traders, and proprietors of public funds agreed to take Bank notes in payment of their debts, to the intent that the ſpecie might circulate among the troops. On the 9th of October, the day when the Venetian ambaſſador made his public entry with great magnificence, the trained bands began to mount guard at the Royal Exchange, and other public places; and though they continued twenty-four hours on duty, till relieved by ſome companies from the ſix regiments, yet they did not complain. On the 16th the Tower Hamlets mounted guard at Whitechapel Bars, at Wellcloſe-ſquare, and on Tower-hill; and on the 17th the parliament met, notwithſtanding the following charge to the contrary:

CHARLES *Prince of* Wales, *Regent of* Scotland, England, France, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging*;

CHARLES P. R.

WHEREAS we are certainly informed, That the Elector of Hanover has taken upon him to ſummon a Parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, on Thurſday the ſeventeenth of this inſtant October; we hereby warn and command all his Majeſty's liege ſubjects, whether peers or commoners, to pay no obedience to any ſuch ſummons, and not to preſume to meet or act as a Parliament at the time and place appointed, or any other; the ſo doing by any authority but that of the King our royal Father, ſince the ſetting up of his ſtandard, his Majeſty's gracious pardon offered for all that is paſt, being an overt-act of treaſon and rebellion: but if, notwithſtanding this our declaration, any number of perſons ſhall preſume to meet in either houſe, and act there as members of a lawful Par-

liament, they cannot but be ſenſible that no right or privilege of Parliament can avail to juſtify what they ſay or do in ſuch an unlawful aſſembly. And for thoſe of his Majeſty's ſubjects of this his antient kingdom of Scotland, whether peers or commoners, who ſhall, contrary to theſe our expreſs commands, preſume to ſit or vote as aforeſaid, as ſoon as the ſame ſhall be verified to us, the tranſgreſſors ſhall be proceeded againſt as traitors to their King and country, and their eſtates ſhall be confiſcated for his Majeſty's uſe, according to the laws of the land; the pretended union being now at an end. Laſtly, We hereby ſtrictly enjoin and command all his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, of what rank and degree ſoever, to pay no obedience or regard to any act, vote, order, or reſolution, that may be publiſhed in the name of both houſes, or of either of them reſpectively, as they ſhall anſwer the contrary at their peril.

Given at our palace of Holyrood-houſe, the ninth day of October, one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-five.

CHARLES P. R.

By his Highneſs's command, J. Murray.

Both houſes being met, for but few of either were abſent, the King in his ſpeech informed them, "That the open and unnatural rebellion, which "had broke out, and was ſtill continuing in Scot-"land, had obliged him to call them together "ſooner than he intended,"—"That the wicked "and daring attempt in favour of a Popiſh Pre-"tender to his Crown, headed by his eldeſt Son, "carried on by traiterous and deſperate perſons, "and encouraged by his enemies abroad, required "the immediate advice and aſſiſtance of his Parlia-

"ment;

" ment; that the unanimity ſhewn by his ſubjects " had given him the firmeſt aſſurance that they " were reſolved to act with a ſpirit becoming a " time of common danger.

" I have," continued he, " through the whole " courſe of my reign, made the laws of the land " the rule of my government, and the preſerva- " tion of the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and " the rights of my people, the main end and aim " of all my actions. It is therefore the more aſto- " niſhing, that any of my Proteſtant ſubjects, who " have known and enjoyed the benefits reſult- " ing from thence, and have heard of the im- " minent dangers theſe kingdoms were wonder- " fully delivered from at the happy Revolution, " ſhould by any arts and management be deluded " into meaſures, that muſt at once deſtroy their " religion and liberties, introduce Popery and ar- " bitrary power, and ſubject them to a foreign " yoke. He declared himſelf ſenſibly affected " with the extraordinary burthen which the at- " tempt muſt bring upon his faithful ſubjects: " and concludes with aſſuring, that the intereſt of " him and his people was always the ſame; and " that whoever heartily and vigorouſly exerted " themſelves in the national cauſe, might depend " on his favour and protection."

Next day, the Lords preſented their addreſs, in which, after the uſual introduction, they declared, that they " wanted words to expreſs the juſt indig- " nation and abhorrence riſing in their breaſts, at " ſo wicked, traiterous, and deſperate an attempt " in favour of a Popiſh Pretender to his crown, " whoſe groundleſs claim they had unfeignedly ab- " jured, and whoſe principles and deſigns they " did, from the bottom of their hearts, deteſt and " abhor; then very gratefully acknowledged his

" paternal regard for the laws; that they were re-
" ſolved to hazard their lives and fortunes in de-
" fence of his ſacred perſon and government, and
" that they would concur in all ſuch meaſures as
" might moſt effectually conduce to extinguiſh
" the rebellion, to deter any foreign power from
" preſuming to ſupport it, to reſtore the tranquil-
" lity of his government, and to add ſtrength to
" that excellent conſtitution which the flagitious
" attempt was intended to ſubvert."

The Commons preſented an addreſs in terms to the ſame purpoſe, aſſured him of having " his " hands ſtrengthned by effectual ſupplies, for " ſupporting his ſacred perſon and government, " which from every conſideration, human and di-" vine, they were bound to defend."

On Monday the 21ſt, they impowered the King to ſecure and detain ſuch perſons as he ſhould ſuſpect of conſpiring againſt his perſon and government. And, on the 4th of November, no leſs than 1,298,000l. 4s. 9d. was granted for paying 49,229 effective men, for the year 1746: they likewiſe voted 64,365l. 18s. for paying the fifteen regiments formerly named, for 122 days from the time of their being raiſed, with 13,176l. 10s. for the pay of two regiments of horſe, for the ſame time and in the ſame way; and 35,252l. 10s. for maintaining the twenty independant Highland companies for 361 days: and upon the 24th the King was impowered to raiſe the Engliſh militia.

There were now 36,000 regular troops in the kingdom, commanded by gallant officers, who had given ſignal inſtances of their valour and intrepidity; and, what not a little animated both army and people, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland was among them. His Highneſs had on the 14th of October left Bruſſels, and on the 18th arrived

rived at St. James's. The troops which he ordered to follow landed on the 25th. They conſiſted of four troops of Sir John Ligonier's dragoons, the detachment of the foot guards which ſerved at Oſtend, Lieutenant-general Sinclair's battalion of foot, the foot regiments of Lieutenant-general Harriſon, Major-general Huſk, and Lord Harry Beauclerc. On the 27th Prince Henry Frederic was born, on which the Parliament complimented the King, as they did on the 30th, being his birth-day. It was kept in England with uncommon gaiety: and perhaps the drawing-room at St. James's was never fuller. It was likewiſe obſerved in every part of Scotland, except where parties of the enemy were ſtationed: the garriſon of the caſtle of Edinburgh obſerved the different parts of rejoicing with uncommon ſplendor and ſhew: the union flag was diſplayed, at twelve o'clock a round from her guns was diſcharged, and theſe were anſwered by the ſhips in Leith road, and by vollies from the ſmall arms of the garriſon drawn up upon the platform.

Every place was put into the beſt poſture of defence; the garriſon of Berwick was reinforced by eight companies of Price's foot, juſt as they landed from Flanders, and five companies of Ligonier's were ordered by General Handaſyde to be ſtationed in Holy Iſland till further orders. In a word, England was now become a ſeminary of ſoldiers, actuated by the ſpirit of their Sovereign, who declared in council, That if the rebellion continued, he himſelf would march at the head of the troops in perſon. And in the mean time an army was ordered to the north, over which Field-marſhal Wade was appointed to command.

That officer moved from Doncaſter on the 21ſt with the Britiſh infantry, and with the Swiſs regiments whom the States of Holland had, conform-

able to treaties, upon the requiſition of the Britiſh ambaſſador, ſent over to the King. Newcaſtle upon Tyne was the place appointed for the rendezvous. The forces marched thither from twenty different quarters, and about the 28th they, on a muſter upon the Moor of that town, amounted to 14,000 men, with a large train of artillery.

The Marſhal reſolved to wait here; both to obſerve the motions of the enemy and to protect the coal mines, which if once ſeized by the Inſurgents would be of the utmoſt diſadvantage to the Royal cauſe.

From this place he cauſed a proclamation to be made, and afterward to be inſerted in the newspapers, "That thoſe of his Majeſty's ſubjects inhabiting the Highlands of Scotland, and others, who have been ſeduced by the menaces and threatenings of their chiefs and ſuperiors to take arms, and enter into a moſt unnatural rebellion, ſhould be objects of the Royal mercy, if they would return to their habitations, on or before the 12th of November; but if they ſlighted this offer, they were to be puniſhed according to the demerit of their crimes."

This voluntary proffer did not meet with a ſuitable return: the chiefs were too much involved: the Pretender was too ambitious; and two-thirds of his army could neither read nor write. Gracious declarations were attributed to a reigning panic occaſioned by the defeat at Preſton-pans; ſo that, depending on the weakneſs of the King's troops, eſpecially in the time of winter, and on their own ſuperior alertneſs, they entered England on Friday the 8th of November. The whole army was now together, and after ſcouring the country for two days, the Pretender marched at their head to the Moor of Carliſle, where he waited for his cannon

and

and the remainder of his forces; who brought him the mortifying news, that thirty-four of their waggons had been ſeized by a party of the Dumfries militia-men, in arms for the Government: a piece of news which however diſagreeable, yet did not hinder his ſending Geohegan, a French officer, with the following ſummons:

CHARLES *Prince of* Wales, *Regent of the Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging:*

BEING come to recover the King our father's juſt rights, for which we are arrived with all his authority, we are ſorry to find that you ſhould prepare to obſtruct our paſſage: we therefore, to avoid the effuſion of Engliſh blood, hereby require you to open your gates, and let us enter, as we deſire, in a peaceable manner; which if you do, we ſhall take care to preſerve you from any inſult, and ſet an example to all England of the exactneſs with which we intend to fulfil the King our father's declarations and our own: but if you ſhall refuſe us entrance, we are fully reſolved to force it by ſuch means as Providence has put into our hands, and then it will not perhaps be in our power to prevent the fatal conſequences which uſually attend a town's being taken by aſſault. Conſider ſeriouſly of this, and let me have your anſwer within the ſpace of two hours; for we ſhall take any further delay as a peremptory refuſal, and take our meaſures accordingly.

Nov. 10, 1715. Two in the afternoon.

For the Mayor of Carliſle.

This menacing letter was anſwered from the cannon on the ramparts. The Chevalier, who had marched

marched to Brampton Muir, eight miles eaſt of Carliſle, in order to give battle to General Wade, or to waſte and conſume the forces under that officer by marches and countermarches, or to ſurprize them in the night-time, as opportunity offered, was not a little touched at the refuſal; he ſent back a ſmall party on the 13th with ſome faſcines and ſcaling-ladders, made of the wood cut in Corby and Warwick Parks, and toward ſun-ſet theſe arrived near the town. Next morning they broke ground within 300 yards of the Scots gate, but were driven off by an uninterrupted fire from the batteries; however, this diſheartening circumſtance did not counterbalance one more encouraging, and which aroſe from a thick miſt, which then darkened the atmoſphere. Under favour of it a trench was dug toward the Engliſh gate, as the moſt defenceleſs; the inſurgents advanced the works, and Perth, the conductor of the ſiege, wrought in his ſhirt as the meaneſt labourer; Carliſle was attacked in three places at once, which being diſcovered on the ſky clearing up, the centries in ſurprize ſpread a conſternation among the inhabitants. Many people leaped over the wall, which is about ſix feet high, and five feet broad, and croſſed the ditch, which is of the ſame breadth with the wall; theſe generally eſcaped, though ſome fell into the hands of the enemy. The militia being ſhut up in a town, where they were fatigued with a continual watching for ſeven days and ſeven nights together, and the inhabitants almoſt killed with the apprehenſions of a maſſacre, deſired a meeting. The Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens convened, with Colonel Durand, Governor of the caſtle, to conſult about the proper methods to be taken in this extremity.. The Governor's opinion was, that the place might hold out, but he was overpowered by

by the multitude; the terror of the Highlanders ſtorming the town ſword in hand in the night-time, had already filled them with the moſt killing apprehenſions, it was reſolved to ſurrender the place. Accordingly a white flag was hung out, which the enemy obſerving, the intended aſſault was laid aſide, and deputies came out with a propoſal of terms; they were told that the town ſhould enjoy her liberties, but that the proviſion and ammunition ſhould be delivered in the caſe they were in; and in the mean time a meſſage was ſent off to the Chevalier, who anſwered, "that he was not "to do things by halves, he muſt have both the "caſtle and the town, or neither of them." The garriſon of the former were, by the faithful Durand, almoſt prevailed on to ſtand a ſiege; but, upon after-thoughts, about 320 out of 400 men deſerted in one night, and ſome of theſe who remained were unfit for action, ſo that the governor was oblige to withdraw. Things being thus ſituated, Perth, who was afterwards made governor, took poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle in the Pretender's name about ten in the morning of the 15th. His declarations were proclaimed with great ſolemnity, and he himſelf made his entry on the 17th, eſcorted by the Elphinſtone troop, then commanded by Arthur Lord Balmerino, who appeared for the firſt time as an officer, and Colonel of the life-guards. Here were found proviſion for three months, arms for a numerous militia, and near 200 horſes with proper furniture; and in the caſtle were 1000 ſtand of arms, with many of the ſwords of the Highlanders taken at Preſton, anno 1715: all which, with 100 barrels of gunpowder, and many valuable effects belonging to the country people for ſeveral miles round, were ſecured.

And

And here Perth performed a piece of generoſity, which could not fail of gaining an univerſal eſteem. From his frequenting the horſe races at York, Newcaſtle, and Black Hamilton, he became acquainted with almoſt the whole gentlemen of Cumberland, and the adjacent counties, ſo that when he came to receive them in the market-place, there was a continued embracing one after another of the priſoners for near half an hour; they were invited to dine with him, and after being properly regaled, were diſmiſſed upon their parole. Some gentlemen of theſe parts have told me, that though they looked upon this ſtep of Perth as inconſiſtent with the character of a ſoldier, yet it was a ſignal inſtance of his politeneſs and humanity, for they were ſuffered to retain their arms! Indeed he had no reaſon to be ruffled in his temper, as the beſiegers loſt no more than one Dalton an engineer, an Iriſhman, who was killed, and a private man, who was wounded.

Theſe ſucceſſes, in themſelves equal to a victory, were ſtill heightened by the ſlowneſs of Marſhal Wade's motions; that officer, inſtead of ſtationing himſelf half way between Newcaſtle and Carliſle, had continued at the former place, notwithſtanding he had intimation of the Pretender's rout by an expreſs next day after their quitting Edinburgh. He did not decamp till the 16th, and then Carliſle was in the hands of the enemy; the Dutch troops were a drawback upon his motions, and would not march when directed: theſe had come over only for the ſake of form. The French ambaſſador at the Hague remonſtrated againſt their being ſent over to England, under pretence that they were included in the capitulation of Tournay, and were not to fight directly or indirectly againſt the crown of France for a year. Some memorials paſſed upon this

this ſubject, and the troops in the mean time were tranſported; England was pleaſed with their arrival, and France was pacified with their inaction; for during the whole time of their continuance, they were not ſo much as engaged in a ſkirmiſh, or the leaſt accidental rencounter.

On that day the Major-Generals Howard and Oglethorpe, with the Brigadiers Cholmondely and Mordaunt, marched at the head of the infantry in exceſſive cold weather amidſt an intenſe froſt and a falling ſnow, which lay three feet deep upon the ground. About eight at night they arrived at Ovington, through roads terribly broken and full of ice, in which ſome of the foot of the laſt column had dropt through fatigue, and might have periſhed, had not the Major-Generals Huſke and Oglethorpe hired countrymen with lights and carts to bring them up. In this ſervice they were employed till nine next morning, when the forces continued their march for Hexham, which the firſt line entered about four in the afternoon, and the rear at midnight. Here the Marſhal, having intelligence of the fate of Carliſle, reſolved to return, and on the 22d arrived at Newcaſtle through roads almoſt impaſſable, and with an army ſpent with fatigue.

The magiſtrates received them with a becoming ſympathy; the malt-houſes, public halls, and other empty buildings, were warmed and fitted up, while ſuch as appeared to be moſt jaded were quartered in private houſes, and entertained at the proprietor's charge. Here they continued two days, and on the 24th began their march ſouthward in queſt of the enemy, who, after leaving a garriſon of 450 men at Carliſle, had about ten in the morning of the 20th ſet out for Penrith, where and at Shap they halted till the 22d, when they marched for Kendal,

Kendal, advanced to Lancaſter on the 24th, and reached Preſton on the 26th, proclaiming their leader in every town amidſt the acclamations of the multitude. Here the Chevalier, who hitherto marched on foot, mounted on horſeback, and ſurveyed the paſſes and bridge of the town, taking with him ſuch as had been there in the year 1715, when the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithiſdale, Wintoun and Carnwath, with almoſt their whole forces, were taken priſoners; and here, as in other places, they collected the ceſs, the land-tax, and exciſe, with the other branches of the public revenue.

The neighbourhood of the enemy filled the weſtern counties with ſurprize and aſtoniſhment, and the towns began to provide for their ſafety; the city of Cheſter, the key into Wales, was by the care of the Earl of Cholmondely put into a poſture of defence, and its bridge broken down. The inhabitants of Liverpool ſecured their valuable effects in the ſhips then in the road; which precautions had ſuch an influence, that on the 29th the enemy turned eaſtward to Mancheſter, where their cavalry arrived by ten in the morning, and the Pretender at the head of his infantry about two in the afternoon. Next day they beat up for volunteers, when ſome Roman Catholics and Nonjurors engaged with them, but no perſon of rank or diſtinction came in: however, they formed the Mancheſter regiment of horſe, whoſe livery was blue clothes, hangers, a plaid ſaſh, and white cockade: they made free with the beſt horſes they could find, and beat up for recruits as they advanced. The Colonel of that regiment was the unfortunate Francis Townley, a gentleman of great courage and activity, but who, through the misfortunes of his family, had gone to ſerve in the armies of France. Their quarter-maſter was one Thomas

Cappoch, a Preſbyter of the Church of England, who was ſoon declared Biſhop of Carliſle; an unhappy preferment for him, as it brought him to a fatal end, which every wretch, who, on the proſpect of a piece of bread, ſwerves from his ſolemn engagements never to deviate from the diſcipline and worſhip of one church, who has impowered him to preach the Goſpel, ought to meet with. It is no wonder that villains of this ſtamp ſhould ſhake off all the ties binding on a ſcholar, in order to uſe the arts of circumvention, and, like a bailiff's follower, turn a man out of his bread, and fix himſelf in it. Poor Cappoch was hanged, drawn, and quartered. At Mancheſter the bellman was ſent about with orders to all ſuch as had public money to bring it in, and in the evening he intimated that the place ſhould be illuminated; which laſt being partly complied with, was of good ſervice to the rear of the army, as it was night before they could enter.

On the 1ſt of December a party of them made a feint of marching to Stockport, and another weſtward to Knotsford, having croſſed the Merſey in different places, though then very rapid and ſwollen by the rain. The cavalry forded it, while the foot and artillery paſſed over bridges of plank and of poplar. In the mean time the Pretender arrived at Macclesfield with 3000 men, and the artillery came in about two in the afternoon. Next morning the van was ſent to Congleton, where they received intelligence that the main body of the King's army, conſiſting of 12,700 men, moſtly veteran regiments, and among them three battalions of the guards, commanded by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, was at Newcaſtle under Line, nine miles ſouth weſt of them.

For

For on the 16th of November his Majeſty had ordered three regiments of horſe, two of dragoons, and fifteen of foot, to march into Lancaſter to obſerve the motions of the enemy. They marched by the way of Barnet, Dunſtable, and Wooburn, through roads almoſt impaſſable, and rendezvouſed at Stafford on the 26th of November, when Sir John Ligonier was appointed to take upon him the command. As they advanced the Duke begged of his Royal father to be permitted to put himſelf at the head of the forces. His requeſt was granted, but with difficulty. The King told him, "William, I grant your deſire, but pray take care of "yourſelf; for this young man is not a fool with "whom you have to deal: learn this leſſon from "your father, never to deſpiſe an enemy." A ſalutary advice, worthy the moſt ſolid wiſdom, and which the Duke ſo well obſerved, that he did not commit one ſingle overſight during the whole time of his command. On the 26th he ſet out from St. James's about one o'clock in the morning, and in three days arrived at Stafford, between which place and Tamworth the army was cantoned. He no ſooner appeared among them, than the air reſounded with the moſt joyful acclamations.

Here getting intelligence that the enemy intended to march for Congleton, he ordered that part of the cavalry, which was poſted at Newcaſtle under Line, to retreat till the infantry ſhould come up, and the two bodies being joined here, he drew them up on Stonefield, expecting the enemy would come that way: but on information that they were marching further eaſt, he cauſed the army to move to the ſouth eaſt, the better to intercept them. The roads and avenues were properly ſecured, and the day was ſomewhat dark; circumſtances very favourable for him, as by means of theſe advantages

tages he would have been up with the enemy, being within three miles of them: and now there might have been an end of the matter, had it not been for a turnpike-man, who firſt informed the Pretender's party, that the Duke was advancing upon that road, and within three miles of them, and therefore directed them to turn off to the left hand. His directions were followed, and in about an hour after the Duke came up with the troops, when the turnpike-man aſſured him that the enemy had marched to the right, and were but two miles diſtant; whereon his Highneſs ſet out more eagerly than before, and in his way ſaw a lieutenant of Johnſon's regiment lying among the whins, miſerably mangled, and a little further on, ſix others in the ſame ſituation. He had marched two miles before diſcovering the cheat, and ſo returning the ſame way, he ordered the turnpike-man to be brought before him. The unhappy fellow made no defence for himſelf, further than that he did not want a battle ſhould happen near his abode. An excuſe of ſo little weight in itſelf, that the whole general officers inſiſted on putting him to death, which was done inſtantly; he was carried to a tree, and hanged on the bough thereof, which overſhadowed the road.

This done he marched to Coventry with all his horſe, and two battalions of foot, having ordered the remainder to encamp on Meriden Common, where the flannel waiſtcoats (the gift of the Quakers) were arrived. This ſtep of his Royal Highneſs entirely diſconcerted the plans and meaſures of the enemy, for turn which way they will, the troops were alert to attack them.

The Pretender having intelligence of theſe motions, and of the alacrity of the King's army, marched his van to Aſhburn, and the main body

of his forces to Leek, and all of a ſudden turned to Derby, which he entered on the morning of the 4th, with 450 horſe, and 2300 foot; the reſt, in order to appear more numerous, continuing to enter till late, when their artillery and baggage did arrive.

The ſuddenneſs of their approach ſurprized the people of the town, who retired in ſuch confuſion, that the clerk in a hurry left upon a bureau the roll of thoſe who ſubſcribed for ſums in the government's ſervice. The paper falling into their hands, the different quotas and public money were rigorouſly collected, and at night was held a council of war; in which the queſtion was, Proceed forward, or Retreat? The reaſoning was tedious and long, but nothing then was concluded. Next day after dinner the queſtion was reſumed; the Chevalier was ſo eager upon fighting, that he was ready to cry. Clanranald and Clunie Macpherſon joined him; but Lord Pitſligo and the other leaders were unanimous againſt it. "I am told," ſaid Pitſligo, "that the Elector is to raiſe his ſtandard at Finchley "Common, and the advantage of being in poſſeſſion "of London is known from the caſe of Edward IV. "ſhould we fight the Duke of Cumberland, the "fortune of war is doubtful; ſhould we paſs him, "which may be done, yet we have another army "to encounter before we arrive at St. James's; "in caſe of a defeat, we ſhall be expoſed to the "rage of the country people. Let us not then "bring certain deſtruction upon ourſelves, and an "indelible ſtain upon the Scottiſh nation, who, "when unanimous, never marched ſo far as we "have done; we will conduct you back (turning "to the Chevalier) and by an honourable retreat "ſecure that ſafety, and that character, of both

"which

" which the raſh adventuring forward bids fair to " deprive us."

This reaſoning was juſt; for in caſe they did eſcape the Duke, they would be put between the fire of his army, and that formed under the eye of the Earl of Stair, which was compoſed of the guards, Lord John Murray's old Highland regiment, two troops of Ligonier's horſe, and the remains of Sir Robert Rich's regiment of dragoons, with thoſe of Lieutenant-General Halley, who on the 1ſt had arrived in the Thames from Williamſtadt. The aſſociated regiment of the law, for the defence of the Royal family, and the preſervation of the conſtitution in church and ſtate, made up of the gentlemen of the gown, under the command of Lord Chief Juſtice Willes, entered here upon the firſt rudiments of a winter campaign; there was a large train of artillery, conſiſting of 33 field pieces, and 48 covered waggons, 20 cheſts of arms, and 240 matroſſes, under the direction of Captain Speedwell, an officer of 55 years experience. The Lieutenancy of London directed, that two regiments of the trained bands ſhould be out every night, and one in the day-time, and ſeveral wealthy citizens enliſted as volunteers in the firſt regiment of foot guards, while all the public and private effects of the city began to be packed up, to be ſafe againſt the worſt of events.

But the difficulties he had to encounter on land were no leſs diſcouraging than his diſappointments; for ſome of the tranſports from France had been driven back, and others taken, as on the 25th of November the Soleil privateer, on board of which was Mr. Charles Radcliff and his ſon, 11 captains, 10 lieutenants, and 60 private men. The crew were ſent to Dover caſtle, and the remaining priſoners diſtributed in the ſeveral men of war of

Admiral Vernon's ſquadron; but the officers were conducted to the Tower, where apartments were fitted up for them, young Mr. Radcliff being taken for the ſecond ſon of the Pretender, now Cardinal Steuart, who was then in France amuſed with promiſes.

On theſe and other accounts the whole were brought into Pitſligo's ſentiments; however, they artfully concealed their deſigns, by rubbing up their arms, as if intending to fight, while a ſmall party was detached to the Trent, to repair the bridge that had been broke down, and to lay others for paſſing over the troops, as if they deſigned to march forward to their adherents in London, who, in expectation of their approach, had privately dropt the Pretender's declarations at St. James's upon the parade, while others, leſs prudent, were for malicious expreſſions taken into cuſtody, and received an arbitrary puniſhment for their ill-timed zeal; however, they continued in high ſpirits till the arrival of an expreſs that their friends had retreated; on which the cannon ſent to the camp returned, the King's advancing to it was deferred, the orders given to the troops were countermanded, the day duty of the trained bands was diſcontinued, and the volunteers were diſmiſſed. Theſe had paſſed in review before the King and Earl of Stair through St. James's Park, with their wives and children before them, to ſignify that all was at ſtake; and that they were determined to fight *pro aris et focis*.

On the 6th of December, at ten of the morning, after ſeveral feints, the rebels began their march from Derby, with their cavalry in front, and 13 pieces of cannon in the center; ſome ſeeming to move to Loughborough, entered that place, and plundered it of what was valuable, while others

kept

kept on the Aſhburn ſide. When about a mile from town they halted till near four, and then went off, their carriages being on full trot, and their foot almoſt running. While here, not content with their former demands, they ſent a party to require a large ſum of money, which by force they obtained.

Notwithſtanding this device, which kept their true intent a profound ſecret, yet that very night the Duke had an account of their march. By three next morning he put himſelf at the head of all the horſe and dragoons, and 1000 volunteers mounted till the foot ſhould come up, and ſent expreſſes every where to the militia to intercept them; but this could not be ſo eaſily done, as theſe had hitherto retired before them, and becauſe their motions were ſo quick and uncertain, their deſigns ſo intricate and dark.

However, the places on which they were ſuppoſed to have an eye, were put in a poſture of defence. The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Granby, the Earls of Cholmondely and Warrington, with the Lord Gower, repaired to Cheſter, to ſtop their advancing into Wales, while the Liverpool battalion of 700 men were ordered to take poſt at Warrington. Theſe picked up about ſixteen ſtragglers, who afterward were ſent to different gaols. A thouſand new raiſed foot were diſpatched to Newcaſtle to prevent their coming there, or if they came to keep them in play till the troops ſhould come up. Theſe, and indeed the whole militia, were very eager in the ſervice of the government, and willing to fight the rebels; but their leaders being men of experience, conſidering that they could not be defeated without the loſs of ſome uſeful lives, they were referred to a more able avenger, who, with his cavalry and foot,

mounted on horſes ſupplied by the country people, was now in full purſuit of them.

On the 8th they were at Macclesfield, and next day at Mancheſter, where they levied 16000 *l.* and committed 13000 *l.* of damages. On the 10th they marched to Wigan, and on the 11th to Preſton, where they halted the 12th. On the 13th they made the longeſt march during this chaſe, and arrived at Lancaſter, where they halted the 14th; but having intelligence that the troops were gaining ground of them, they continued their flight from the Duke, who about eleven of the night of the 10th arrived at Macclesfield from Litchfield with two regiments of dragoons, having marched about forty miles in two days through terrible roads, by Uttoxeter and Cheadle; and about an hour after the foot arrived, being provided with horſes by the gentlemen of Staffordſhire. After four hours repoſe they began their march for Mancheſter, which they entered upon the 12th amidſt repeated huzzas, bonfires, illuminations, and other demonſtrations of joy. By three next morning they were in motion, and marched ſo haſtily, that the van reached Preſton about four hours after the rebels had quitted the town; the firſt who entered were the Georgia rangers, ſoon after a party of the Duke of Kingſton's horſe, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Mordaunt, and the Captains Lord Byron and Lord Robert Manners. It was here General Oglethorpe joined the Duke's army with 1000 horſe, which were compoſed of St. George's dragoons, the Duke of Montagu's horſe, and thoſe of Marſhal Wade.

That officer had on the 24th of November marched by the way of Durham, Darlington, and Richmond, in order to cover Yorkſhire. On the 28th he was at Pers-Bridge, whence he moved to Wetherby,

Wetherby, where his troops halted the 5th of December, and received their bread from Leeds, as alſo ſhoes, ſtockings, and flannel waiſtcoats from London; from Wetherby he turned eaſtward to Ferry-Bridge, where he arrived on the 9th, as did the cavalry at Doncaſter. It was at this place that accounts were brought of the retreat of the enemy, for intercepting of whom Wade reſolved to march by the way of Wakefield and Hallifax into Lancaſhire; but getting intelligence that they had ſlipt him, he marched back with his foot in ſeveral diviſions; and that they might be under cover every night by reaſon of the freezing winds, the chilling froſts, and almoſt continual ſnows, he took the rout of Northallerton, Darlington and Durham, and arrived at Newcaſtle on the 20th of December, having detached General Oglethorpe, as is already obſerved. The troops under him had marched from Doncaſter, and in three days made about 100 meaſured miles over ſnow and ice, either to come up with the enemy, or to join the Duke of Cumberland, by whom that march was literally paralleled.

The rangers were immediately ſent after the enemy, who had halted at Lancaſter on the 14th, till the whole of their troops ſhould come up. By two in the afternoon they got a ſight of the rebels rear, and two of them riding beyond the reſt were taken priſoners.

That day, about ten in the forenoon, Perth, who thought nothing of riding down three horſes in a day for intelligence, reached Kendal with an hundred huſſars, and whence, after halting for a little refreſhment, he went on; but as the rear of his corps was entering upon the bridge, ſome country people being there at market mobbed them. One of them was killed by a muſket from a win-

dow, and two taken priſoners. On this the party faced about, when as many as the bridge could give room to fired upon the mob, of whom a ſhoemaker and oſtler were killed, on which they diſperſed, after the rebels had diſcharged a general volley, but at too great a diſtance to do harm. This being over they poſted to Shap, where on the 16th they arrived.

The day after the affair at Kendal the whole body of the rebels came into that town, where hearing that one of their huſſars was ſlain, and two taken priſoners, they breathed nothing but revenge; the ceſs and public money were demanded, under penalty of the ſevereſt execution. With the utmoſt difficulty could the magiſtrates pacify the chieftains, by repreſenting the innocence of the inhabitants, and that in a public market offenders muſt be unknown. As Lochiel came at laſt to underſtand the matter, the contributions were abated, though a great ſum was levied; and on their departure their laſt rank plundered ſome houſes, ſtript ſome people of their ſhoes, and attempted to fire a lodging, but the match did not take. On the 16th their main body marched for Shap, but the rear-guard halted at a farm four miles from Kendal, to prepare ſmall carts for carrying their ammunition, which could not be got forward over ſteep hills, and through a bad road, upon their four-wheeled waggons, that were moſtly broken down. Next night theſe arrived at Shap, while the bulk of them marched with the young Adventurer to Penrith, where in the evening they were joined by the rear-guard.

While General Anſtruther is advancing from Coventry to London with Colonel Sowles and Skelton's regiments of foot, which compoſed the firſt diviſion of his Royal Highneſs's army, while Marſhal

ſhal Wade is marching his troops in different diviſions toward Newcaſtle upon Tyne; and while the army is forming upon the Kentiſh coaſt, where a deſcent was apprehended, the Duke came up with the enemy upon the 18th at night with his cavalry, after an uninterrupted march of ten hours.

The rebels, being continually alarmed by the approach of the light horſe, had ſent a party through Lord Lonſdale's parks of Lowther, thinking to find ſome of theſe who had harraſſed them about his houſe, as he was Lord Lieutenant of the county of Cumberland. Some of them were ſeen, but then at too great a diſtance to receive any loſs. In their progreſs they took a running footman belonging to his Royal Highneſs, and a gentleman of the county, whom they called an officer: from theſe they were informed, that the Duke was within a mile of them with about 4000 horſe and dragoons, beſides light horſe and militia; on which they abandoned Lowther hall to make a ſtand againſt him. Accordingly Lord George Murray, who always commanded the rear-guard, took poſſeſſion of the village of Clifton, a mile to the north of Lord Lonſdale's ſeat, upon the high way to, and two miles ſhort of Penrith; he ſent Colonel Roy * Steuart's regiment and Clunie's battalion to the bottom of the moor, while the Macdonalds of Keppoch ſtood at a little diſtance to wait the event; they fortified themſelves behind three hedges and a ditch. It was now about an hour after ſun-ſet, when the King's troops appeared upon the open moor with their leader, who directly ordered 300 of Honeywood's dragoons to diſmount, and march forward to attack the enemy. They advanced to

* In Iriſh red, ſo called from his infancy for the redneſs of his hair.

the

the very brink of the ditch, when the rebels fired from behind the hedges, and killed a few; on which the troops fired ſome platoons, and then retired a few paces. The enemy taking this for the beginning of a flight, croſſed the ditch with incredible ſwiftneſs, and ruſhed on with ſword and piſtol in hand, but were ſo well received, that ſome of them lay dead upon the ſpot. The dragoons, who had drawn their ſwords, were now ready to pay them in their own coin. The ſhouts began, the claſhing of ſwords was heard; ſome of the rebels ſwords broke upon the ſteel caps which the cavalry commonly wear, on which they drew their daggers, and fought with great obſtinacy for an hour; when obſerving the reſolution of the forces, they returned with as much precipitation acroſs the ditch, as at firſt they came on, and with full ſpeed carried the conſternation to Penrith, where the body of their army, with the artillery and baggage, was arrived. Such was the ſkirmiſh at Clifton, in which about twelve of the dragoons were killed, and twenty-four wounded, among whom were Colonel Honeywood, Captain Eaſt, and the Cornets Owen and Hamilton. On the ſide of the rebels were ſlain about twenty men, and ſeventy taken priſoners, among whom was Captain George Hamilton of Redhouſe, who then commanded in the abſence of Roy Steuart; he had fallen upon the ground by ſome accident, and recovering himſelf, was juſt ſitting up, when an huſſar coming by, ſtruck him upon the vertebræ of the neck, ſo that he fell back, with theſe words, "Oh, I am killed!" The huſſar diſmounted, took his money out of his pocket, with his watch, and then left him, till the country people, who had known his ſeverity, tied up his head with an handkerchief, and delivered him a priſoner; he was mounted

mounted upon an horſe, with his legs tied below its belly, and directly ſent to gaol. As the rebels, who had not advanced, carried off their killed and wounded on the other ſide of the ditch, the ſame could not be certainly known; they gave out that they only loſt twelve men, who run up the moor; whereas his Royal Highneſs wrote to the King, that ſeventy of them were taken priſoners, beſides thoſe who were wounded and killed. The only thing the enemy had to boaſt of, was, that they took ſome broad ſwords from the dragoons; but from the beſt information, I find theſe only amounted to ſeven, which were taken up as they firſt leaped over the ditch, when the troops retired, or were ſeized from the wounded officers formerly named.

Being driven from the village, and come to Penrith, a council of war was held, where Roy Steuart was for marching back, and ſurprizing the dragoons in the night-time, or by day-break next morning, before the foot had arrived; but Lord George Murray was not for diminiſhing the forces by ſkirmiſhes, but for purſuing their rout, and joining Lord John Drummond, who had landed from Dunkirk with a regiment of 600 men at Montroſe. He was afterward joined by a like body of the Duke of Gordon's vaſſals, then under his brother Lord Lewis, the Frazers under the Maſter of Lovat, the Farquharſons under Francis Farquharſon of Monaltry, the Chiſholms of Strathglaſs under the chieftain's youngeſt ſon, two battalions of the Mackintoſhes raiſed by the Lady Mackintoſh, whoſe huſband was a Captain in the ſervice of the government. Theſe were commanded by Macgillivray of Drumnaglaſs, one of the branches of the Catti; in all about 2500 men.

Next

Next day their whole army marched for Carliſle, where that night they arrived, and next morning, being the Chevalier's birth-day, he was complimented by the officers, and his army drawn up upon the moor in battalia, where they continued under arms till about twelve o'clock, giving out, that they were reſolved to fight the Duke's army before the arrival of the artillery; but on hearing that the foot and artillery were faſt approaching, they drew off with pipes playing and colours flying, leaving at Carliſle a garriſon of about 400 men, conſiſting chiefly of the Engliſh that joined them, and ſome few Scots under the command of John Hamilton, the Duke of Gordon's factor, with a proper train of artillery, and a promiſe of returning with greater force in eight days.

By two o'clock they came up to Langtown, where they croſſed the Eſk, then about four feet deep, and not very rapid, as the tide was in. The cavalry entered the water with the huſſars in front, and the Pretender in the center, with a boy belonging to Cappoch behind him. When half way through, he obſerved two people giving way, and ſeizing them by the hair, cried out in Iriſh, Coaer, Coaer, Help, Help, and ſo theſe were relieved; Perth, being better mounted than the reſt, croſſed the water ſeveral times, and brought off a perſon every time he went. The infantry, with Lord George Murray at their head, arrived ſafe to the other ſide, by keeping hold of each other, according to the direction of the country people, and of ſome drovers who were among them.

Scarce were they in Scotland, when they divided into parties, the Chevalier with 4000 marching to Annan, and the other of 2500 to Ecclefechan, where they reſted. Next day Lord Elcho was ſent with 500 horſe to Dumfries, where he levied the exciſe,

exciſe, and impoſed on the town a contribution of 2000*l.* and a thouſand pair of ſhoes; ſeized 9 caſks of gunpowder, all arms public and private, horſes and horſe furniture, while the private men among them committed above 4000*l.* damages in the country, by plundering houſes, robbing people on the highway, ſtripping others of their ſhoes and body clothes. Near 1100*l.* was inſtantly paid by the magiſtrates, who, on remonſtrance, were told that they might be glad their town was not laid in aſhes, conſidering their aſſociation, and ſeizing of their waggons.

Next day the Pretender, the French ambaſſador, Perth, Lochiel, Clanranald, Cappoch and Glengary, went by the way of this pillaged town, while the Marquis of Tullebardin, Lord George Murray, Lords Ogilvie, Nairn, and Pitſligo, took the Moffatt road. They intended to march to Edinburgh, but hearing that General Gueſt had cauſed an intimation to be made from the pulpits, that he deſigned to keep the town out againſt them, till the arrival of the troops, they directed their rout to Glaſgow, and in their way ſtopt at the caſtle of Douglas, where the Duke of that name behaved in a manner every way becoming his great and illuſtrious anceſtors. The bulk of the private men were lodged in and about town, while the Chevalier with his guards and general officers repaired to the caſtle, hoping to prevail on the Duke to join, but in this they were greatly diſappointed; for his Grace of Douglas was of the ſame ſentiments as in the year 1715, when he accompanied the Duke of Argyle to Sheriffmuir, and with ſome of the principal noblemen * in the kingdom charged as a volunteer at the head of the cavalry.

* The Duke of Roxburgh, the Earls of Rothes, Haddington, Loudon and Leven, the Earl of Iſlay, who received two wounds

The firſt who came to his Grace found him in a plain room, and homely dreſs, ſitting before a fire, near which was a table whereon were placed ſeven ſilver watches. On their entering, he ſaid, "Do any "of you want to take a watch?" And ſo touching one with his fingers he added, "Take a watch, "take a watch: here is variety." Accordingly three of them took watches, while others demanded his money and his arms: "It is not," ſaid he, "the cuſtom of a Douglas to deliver up his arms; "but what caſh I have about me ſhall be yours:" ſo rifling his pockets, he laid down his money * upon the table, which being ſoon ſnatched up, the keys of his bureau and other repoſitories were loudly called for. "No keys," ſaid the Duke, "I "have; no keys will I give. Deſire my couſin "Perth to ſpeak with me." Accordingly Perth came in, attended by ſome of the chieftains, among whom were Lochiel and Dr. Cameron. Theſe, underſtanding what had paſt, began to make an apology, by ſetting off the juſtice of their cauſe, and proceeding to remonſtrate upon the glory that would accrue to his Grace's family, if he would join the righteous heir to the crown; they even went ſo far as to proffer to introduce him to the P—, or to bring the P— into the room to him. To which the Duke replied, with ſome emotion, "I neither want to ſee him, nor that he ſhould ſee "me! Don't tell me of heirs and pretenders to "the crown, I might put in for my own claim †."

wounds, and Archibald Douglas, Earl of Forfar, who received twenty-two.

* According to my information 100 l. twelve pound of which was in ſilver.

† William Earl of Douglas was a candidate for the throne againſt Robert II. the firſt King of the name of Stuart, anno 1370, and his Grace was deſcended from Margaret Tudor, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. of England.

So

So addreſſing Perth, "I thought," ſaid he, "Perth, "you knew me better: you might have come to "me yourſelf." Then, turning to Lochiel, he added theſe very words, "You, Sir, have it in "your power to take me priſoner, but you have it "not in your power to make me aſſiſt or acknow-"ledge any heir or pretender to the crown. I lie "under obligations to no Prince, except to him "who ſits upon the throne; and to him I am bound "by indiſſoluble ties of gratitude." Having ſo ſpoke he turned upon his heel and retired, with all the dignity and air of a Douglas. There was an univerſal pauſe, the chieftains looked wiſtfully at one another; and, being ſtruck with the reſolution and firmneſs of the man, they not only deſiſted from troubling him further, but ſaved his houſe from being plundered; however, the army drank plentifully of his Grace's liquors, ſeized upon the arms which they found, and among theſe the ſword which the great Sir James Douglas uſed at the terrible battle of Bannockburn, and at ſixty-two more encounters, including thoſe in Spain and in Paleſtine. But whether from the inability of any one man in the Pretender's army to wield the weapon, which had contributed ſo much to fix the independency of Scotland, and to pull down the followers of Mahomet, or from the reverence which many of them bore to the venerable name of its firſt owner, certain it is, the ſword was ſent back, and depoſited in the place from whence it was taken.

Finding little encouragement at Douglas they proceeded forward to Hamilton, where, meeting with the other body of their troops, they continued two nights, the Chevalier and his officers lodging in the palace, as the Duke of Hamilton was at Liſbon, for the recovery of his health, which, through riot and irregularity, had been miſerably impaired.

After regaling themſelves, their van ſet out for Glaſgow on the 25th, and next day the Pretender followed with the main body. They indeed made a moſt diſmal appearance, being very much jaded with their winter campaign, and chagrined at their not being joined by numbers of the Engliſh, as they expected: however, for their comfort, they had the news of the landings in the north country. The Chevalier received letters from his Brother, acquainting him, that the Courts of France and Spain had acknowledged his title, and had reſolved to ſupport him: and, to crown all, the French ambaſſador took on his public character.

The End of the FIFTH BOOK.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

BOOK VI.

CONTENTS.

The Siege of Carliſle,—*an Account of the Clergy of* Scotland,—*with the ſtate of Affairs there,—the Conduct of Admiral* Vernon,—*and the Battle of* Falkirk.

THE Duke of Cumberland not being able to purſue his advantage at Clifton through grounds covered with ſnow, roads broken with ice, and darkneſs which was the greateſt difficulty, reſted his troops that night, and next morning ſet out for and entered Penrith with all his forces: here were to be ſeen the melancholy veſtiges of revenge; four ſhops having been broken, vaſt quantities of goods carried off, ſome thrown into the ſtreets, torn and deſtroyed, as a puniſhment to the owners, for being concerned in the riot at Kendal

on the Saturday before; ſome of their neighbours having informed againſt them. From the ſight of this diſmal ſcene, he began his march on the 21ſt for Carliſle, which he reached about one in the afternoon, and, at a mile's diſtance, ſurrounded it: Major-general Bland inveſting it on the Scots ſide, with St. George's dragoons, and three hundred of Bligh's regiment, to prevent any paſſage over the bridge of the Eden; Major Adams in the ſuburbs of the Engliſh gate; Major Meiric at the Iriſh gate, and Lieutenant-colonel Sir Andrew Agnew at the Sally-port, with 300 men: the Duke himſelf rode round the place, though ſometimes balls lighted within a yard of his horſe's head, as the garriſon fired upon all in their view.

Mr. Townley, the commandant, ordered the guns to be mounted upon the walls, the houſes within reach of the batteries to be burnt, and ſeveral chevaux de frize to be fixed at the gates and entrance of the city, to prevent the approach of the horſe. He was for making ſallies on the King's troops, but in this laſt he was oppoſed.

His Royal Highneſs obſerving the poſture of the city, and that it might coſt ſome lives to take it by aſſault, without proper artillery, ſent to Whitehaven for ſome battering pieces; accordingly, four of eighteen pounders arrived upon the 24th, and ſix of the ſame ſize upon the 25th. No ſooner were theſe up, than the Royaliſts began to erect batteries, notwithſtanding a continued fire from the walls, and by the 28th one of ſix pieces was finiſhed, from which they play'd upon the four gun battery of the town; but next day the firing ceaſed, for want of ſhot, till towards evening, when a freſh ſupply arrived, and the fire being renewed with great briſkneſs for two hours, cauſed the utmoſt conſternation among the inhabitants, who in the

the moſt ſupplicant manner appeared before the commandant, beſeeching him to think of preſerving their lives; he went directly to Hamilton, governor of the caſtle, to conſult what was proper to be done. A capitulation was propoſed, to which Hamilton agreed; two letters were immediately written, and a man ſent with thm; who being brought to the Duke by an advanced party, delivered the one directed to his Royal Highneſs, and the other for the commander of the Dutch troops, ſuppoſed to be with the army, ſigned Geohegan, "Commander of the French artillery, and "of the French garriſon that was at, or might "come to Carliſle, for defence of the town and "citadel." The contents were to ſummon the Dutch officer to retire with his troops from the Engliſh army, under pretence of the capitulation of Tournay.

The night of the 29th was ſpent in raiſing a new battery of three eighteen pounders, which was compleated by the morning; when the old battery fired a platoon, as an earneſt of what was to follow; this menacing aſpect ſoon intimidated the garriſon, who directly hung out a white flag, and called over the walls, that they had two hoſtages ready to be delivered at the Engliſh gate which is on the oppoſite ſide. On this, Lord Bury and Colonel Conway were ordered to deliver the two following meſſages in writing;

"I. His Royal Highneſs will make no exchange "of hoſtages with rebels; and deſires they will let "him know by me, what they mean by hanging "out the white flag?

"II. To let the French officer know, if there is "anyin the town, that there are no Dutch troops, "but enough of the King's to chaſtiſe the rebels, "and thoſe who dare to give them any aſſiſtance."

In about two hours they brought a written paper, ſigned by 'John Hamilton, in the name of himſelf, 'and of all the officers and ſoldiers of the garriſon,' informing, 'that the white flag was hung out on 'purpoſe to obtain a ceſſation of arms, and to know 'what terms his Royal Highneſs will be pleaſed to 'give them upon ſurrender of the city and caſtle of 'Carliſle:' to which they received this declaration, ſigned by the Duke of Richmond, Lieut. General.

"All the terms his Royal Highneſs will or can "grant to the rebel garriſon of Carliſle, are, That "they ſhall not be put to the ſword, but be re-"ſerved for the King's pleaſure."

The terms were agreed to, the governor and principal officers ſurrendered, after ſending a paper recommending themſelves to the King's mercy, and begging the interceſſion of his Royal Highneſs. On this Brigadier Bligh took poſſeſſion of the town with 400 of the foot guards, 700 marching foot, and 100 horſe, who patroled the ſtreets in the night-time.

Next day, December 31ſt, the Duke entered Carliſle on horſeback, amidſt the bleſſings of the citizens, and the acclamations of the country people, who had conceived ſuch an opinion of him, that upon his firſt appearance they flocked in with proviſions, tools, and other neceſſaries, yea, and contributed with their own hands to advance the works againſt the town. They were enamoured to ſee the city reſtored to her King, to herſelf, and to them; while their ſatisfaction was crowned with ſeeing ſuch things as were forcibly or otherwiſe taken away expoſed to view, that all might receive their own on proving their property.

In the mean time the garriſon was confined in the cathedral, and a liſt of their names and deſignations given in; but by a ſpecial order were neither

ther ſtript of their money, nor their clothes; for ſaid his Highneſs, "They will need theſe during "their confinement." There were here of Engliſh Colonel Townley, 5 captains, 6 lieutenants, 7 enſigns, 1 adjutant, 93 non-commiſſioned officers, drummers, and private men, with the quartermaſter Cappoch, chaplain to the Mancheſter regiment, who was to be no longer Biſhop of Carliſle.

Of the Scots, Governor Hamilton, 6 captains, 7 lieutenants, one of whom, James Nicolſon of Perth's regiment, broke the capitulation by endeavouring to eſcape, which circumſtance, at his trial, not a little militated againſt him; 3 enſigns, 1 ſurgeon, 256 non-commiſſioned officers, drummers, and private men.

Of French, Sir Francis Geohegan, a captain of Lally's regiment, 1 ſerjeant, with 4 private men, Colonel Strickland, of no regiment, and Sir John Arbuthnot, a captain in Lord John Drummond's. There were found ſix guns of one and half pounders, three of four pounders, one octagon, all with carriages, four cohorns, and two royals, all of braſs.

His R. Highneſs, after having walked round the walls, and viewed the fortifications, was conducted to the ſame houſe, and laid in the ſame bed, where formerly the Pretender lay; and getting up as uſual by three in the morning, had the pleaſure about ſix hours after, of ſeeing not only the general officers and ſoldiers, but the nobility and gentry, yea, and multitudes, who from all quarters repaired to him. The city of Edinburgh ſent four deputies, among whom was Mr. Patrick Haldane, late Sollicitor for Scotland, a gentleman of great learning and peculiar addreſs, to congratulate him on his ſucceſs, and to intreat him to honour her with a viſit, if he came to Scotland. They were intro-

duced by the Earl of Panmuir, received in the moſt gracious manner, and had the honour to dine with him, when he drank to the proſperity of that town, and of the adjacent towns; his deportment while here was every way princely and ſerene; he encouraged the people to perſevere in their loyalty, and to apply to their daily buſineſs, for ſaid he, "there is nothing to fear;" when ſpeaking of the Highlanders, "he lamented that ſo much bravery "ſhould be miſemployed, and even wiſhed they "would diſband in time, before the forces, whom "he here took occaſion to commend, were too "much provoked againſt them, and their ſhat-"tered remains ſhould fall into the hands of of-"fended juſtice." After ſettling matters, and leaving the command of the troops deſtined for Scotland to General Hawley, he ſet out on the 2d of January for London, where his preſence was neceſſary for curbing any invaſion, which at that time was expected, notwithſtanding the following precautions.

A proclamation was iſſued out December 6th, for putting the laws, particularly the act of parliament of the 27th year of Queen Elizabeth, and another of the 3d of King James I. and VI. in execution againſt Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts, and promiſing a reward of 100 *l.* for every ſuch perſon after conviction, within London, Weſtminſter, the Borough of Southwark, or within ten miles round thoſe places. Upon the 11th a Prieſt, and his landlord for harbouring him, were confined in Newgate for remaining in London beyond the time appointed.

Upon the 12th advice came, that an embarkation of troops was carrying on with great expedition at Dunkirk, where already were moſt of the veſſels for that purpoſe, and that furniture was ſhipped

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on board for 1000 horſes. In two days a proclamation was publiſhed, commanding the wardens, ſheriffs, mayors, lieutenants, juſtices of the peace, and other officers, to cauſe the coaſts to be carefully watched, all cattle, and every other thing that might be ſerviceable to the enemy after landing, to be removed; alarm poſts were fixed; the ſeveral guards were ordered to be in readineſs to march upon the firſt notice of any tumult or inſurrection in London or Weſtminſter; the ſignal was firing ſeven half minute guns at the Tower, which were to be anſwered by the like number in St. James's Park; on hearing of which every officer and ſoldier of the ſix regiments of the city militia, and the two regiments of the Tower hamlets, were to repair with their arms, and a ſufficient quantity of powder and ball, to their reſpective places of rendezvous, on pain of being puniſhed as deſerters. Signals alſo were ſettled on the coaſts of Suſſex and Kent, whither 4000 foot and 2500 horſe were diſpatched; the ſame was done on thoſe of Eſſex and Suffolk, whither 3000 foot, and 1000 horſe had repaired, by putting out flags in the day-time, and lights on the tops of the ſteeples and caſtles in the night, ſo that notice of an invaſion would be at the Tower and St. James's Park in a few hours. The Lords of the Admiralty ordered all the men of war at Portſmouth to put to ſea, and took up 50 merchant men to be armed for cruizing in the channel.

Admiral Vernon, whoſe name for the taking of Porto Bello, anno 1739, had once reſounded throughout Europe, with Commodores Smith and Boſcawen, were already at ſea, each with a ſtrong ſquadron. The Dover privateers had voluntarily gone to the Admiral, in order to receive and follow his inſtructions; on which he wrote them a letter

from on board the Norwich in the Downs, dated December the 10th, aſſuring them, that he would take care to reward every one's ſervices, and endeavour to procure from the crown an ample conſideration for their zeal.

Upon the 12th two of thoſe Dover ſhips fell in with eight tranſports bound from Boulogne for Dunkirk, under convoy of a French man of war of 22 guns, to take troops on board; they ſeized three of them, ſent one of them that night to the admiral in the Downs, and the other two to Dover next morning. Upon the 19th they fell in with about ſixty ſail, moſtly fiſhing boats and ſmall veſſels from Dunkirk, bound, as they ſuppoſed, for Calais or Boulogne, to take in troops. Near the firſt place they drove ſeventeen of them on ſhore, blew up one, ſunk two, and brought three away, two of which were directly carried into Dover, but the third was loſt in that bay. All theſe veſſels had ſome warlike ſtores on board, ſuch as ſmall cannon, powder, ball, horſe colours, clothes, bedding for ſoldiers, and poles about ſeven feet long, ſpiked at each end with iron. Two of leſs value from Roan to Boulogne were afterward ſent in.

The very day that the Dunkirk embarkation met with this diſaſter, the King ſent a meſſage to both Houſes of Parliament, "that he had undoubted intelligence of the preparations at Dunkirk, and other French ports, for invading his kingdoms, and that already a perſon * had actually landed in Scotland, and emitted a treaſonable declaration at Montroſe, December the 2d." That he was come with written orders from the French King, to make war upon the Elector of Hanover, and thoſe who would not aſſiſt the

* Lord John Drummond, Brother-German to Perth.

"Prince

" Prince Regent in the recovery of Scotland, Eng-
" land, and Ireland, whoſe undoubted Title his
" moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, with the concurrence of
" the King of Spain, is reſolved to ſupport, at
" the expence of all the men and money he is
" maſter of *."

King George further told them, that " he had
" ordered into this kingdom the 6000 Heſſian
" troops taken into Britiſh pay the 11th of June
" laſt, by virtue of a treaty with the King of Swe-
" den as Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, the better to
" prevent the invaſion and ſuppreſs the rebellion;"
and concludes, " that he has no doubt of their en-
" abling him to make good that agreement, and
" concur with him in ſuch meaſures as may beſt
" defeat the attempt."

A copy of the treaty being laid before them, an addreſs was drawn up, " thanking his Majeſty for
" communicating the advices he had received, and
" for his paternal care in providing for the ſecurity
" of his people, by directing the Heſſians to be
" brought into the kingdom; and aſſuring him of
" their making good the expence on that account;
" and of their readineſs, with their lives and for-
" tunes, to ſupport his ſacred perſon and govern-
" ment;" and ſo concluded with " declaring their
" deteſtation and abhorrence of the impious de-
" ſign."

Next day the country was alarmed by a letter from Admiral Vernon from on board the Norwich in the Downs, to Sir John Norris, at Deal-Caſtle, or to the Mayor of Deal in his abſence, informing, that great numbers of ſmall embarkations were

* He likewiſe ſignified in the declaration, that all ſhips with the Pretender's letter ſhould have free acceſs to trade in every port belonging to either Crowns of the Houſe of Bourbon.

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brought from Dunkirk, and that ſeveral of them were laden with all ſorts of military ſtores: that the Iriſh troops had marched to Calais from Dunkirk, where General Count Lowendahl, and many other officers, were with a young perſon, ſaid to be the Pretender's ſecond ſon; and adviſing to aſſemble the neighbouring towns in their defence, promiſing on his part the cruizers ſignal, which is a jack flag flying at the top-maſt-head, and to fire a gun every half hour, in caſe the enemy approached.

The Deputy-Lieutenants of Kent publiſhed the letter, with a warm invitation for all within twenty miles of the coaſt to appear in arms on the 22d on horſeback in Swinfield-Minis, and to bring two days proviſion with them. About 4000 people of the adjacent pariſhes took arms, and brought in pick-axes, ſhovels, and other neceſſaries.

Notwithſtanding theſe advices, many were of opinion, that the preparations about Dunkirk and its neighbourhood were only to amuſe; for Captain Gregory of the Norwich reported, that upon taking a view of Dunkirk, there were but five or ſix veſſels in the road, and very few in the harbour. Commodore Knowles, afterward Governor of Jamaica, informed the Admiralty, that he had ſtood within half a mile of the piers head of Boulogne, and within two or three of Calais; that in the harbour of the former there were not ſixty of all kinds, the largeſt of them a galliot hoy, whoſe gaff was much higher than any of the other veſſels maſt heads; and that there was not a ſingle one which had a topſail yard rigged aloft; that within the pier of the latter there were three or four topſail veſſels, the reſt, about thirty, being only galliots or fiſhing-boats. From theſe reports we may judge, whether the fears of a French landing were

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ill or well founded? Which ever was the caſe, the enemy, on finding how the ſcale was turned, gave over their alarms.

For the troops were cantoned conveniently along the coaſt, and the Duke was returned from the chace to St. James's, where on the morning of the 5th, being Sunday, he arrived in perfect health, was at chapel, afterward in the drawing-room, and did not appear in the leaſt fatigued, though he had not been in bed for three days, his countenance being as vigorous and lively, as if he had not gone through a winter's campaign in the midſt of ſnow, ice, and other hardſhips. The whole Court appeared very gay on the occaſion, and every one ſeemed to take a particular pride in paying him their compliments.

Beſides theſe cantonments, and the forces that were to encamp at Finchley, there were two armies, one under General Wade at Newcaſtle, and another, who had ſerved ſo well under the eye of his Royal Highneſs, compoſed of the regiments of Lieutenant-Generals Ligonier, Richmond, Sinclair, and Albemarle; Major-Generals Howard, Skelton, and Bland; Brigadiers Semple, Douglas, and Bligh; Artillery, Leſley, Bernard, and Roper's, Brigadier-Majors; Colonel Sowle's and Colonel Johnſon's regiments; beſides Gower's, Montague's, Halifax's, Granby's, and Cholmondely's new raiſed regiments of foot, each conſiſting of 824 men, Montague's and Kingſton's new levied horſe, containing each 273; togerher with Major General Oglethorpe's body of 1000 horſe, with which he had been detached from General Wade, who was no ſooner at Newcaſtle, than he ſent 1000 of his beſt infantry, and 500 horſe to the aſſiſtance of the Duke, who, to keep up an harmony among all ranks, never failed, as in the caſe of the gentlemen and inhabitants

bitants of Whitehaven, and of the few who roſe under the Duke of Portland, to return his hearty thanks in writing, for their commendable zeal in the cauſe of their country.

But the gloomy proſpect of meeting with too warm a reception after landing, was not more diſcouraging than the landing was precarious and uncertain; for Vernon, whom the French then as much dreaded as the Engliſh loved and admired, was at ſea with 11 ſhips of the line, from 70 to 16 guns, 15 ſmall tenders, privateers, and cuſtom-houſe ſloops, leaving proper ſquadrons under the reſpective commanders, at the places where attacks were apprehended.

But further, the Britiſh nation were not ſingle in defending King George's title to the crown, by covering the ſea with fleets, and guarding the coaſts with numerous forces; for Europe, except France and Spain, declared for it.

Chriſtian VI. of Denmark, more united by intereſt than blood, or the recent tie of marriage betwixt his ſon and the Britiſh Princeſs Louiſa, who ſince died in childbed, proffered not only the 12000 troops in Britiſh pay, but all his forces, if they could be carried over. The old King of Sweden, that intimate acquaintance of our Kings George I. and II. rightly judging, what was the caſe of King George to-day might be his on the morrow, declared his abhorrence of the impious attempt, contrary to the faith of treaties; and though King of of a people naturally lovers of the Britiſh nation, but through policy in the intereſt of France, yet he let out the troops of his Landgraviate in ſupport of our King; and it is remarkable that many Swedes ſerved among them. The ſame might be obſerved of the King of Poland, who, notwithſtanding he had one daughter married to the Dauphin

phin of France, another to the King of Naples, and had his brother Count Saxe, whoſe incredible ſtrength of body was not ſo great, as his bravery and gallantry of mind, a Mareſchal of the French armies; yet ſuddenly he clapt up a peace with the King of Pruſſia, under the mediation of King George, that the former, with the Houſe of Auſtria, might be at more liberty to act in ſupport of his right. The Pruſſian Monarch, tho' frequently ſo docile as to march his army by the direction of the Court of France, and receive his 1,400,000 florins, offered his whole army to his Royal uncle. The Empreſs of Ruſſia, tho' raiſed to the throne by the intrigues of the Houſe of Bourbon, yet, preſſing the ſteps of her father Peter the Great, proffered a quota of troops to be employed as the Court of Britain ſhould direct. For theſe and other reaſons, France left England to extinguiſh the rebellion now driven into Scotland, where ſeveral viciſſitudes of good and bad fortune had in the Pretender's abſence attended the Royal cauſe.

For no ſooner had the rebels left that kingdom, than the oeconomy of the different places was reſtored as much as poſſible, only the Court of Seſſion did not ſit, which made it neceſſary to frame an act of parliament, ſecuring every perſon's right, and importing, that the time of the troubles ſhould not be detrimental in any action.

The clergy now returned to their ſeveral congregations, recommended loyalty to their King, and a regard to their country.

The Preſbyterian church of Scotland is founded upon the plan of M. Calvin, a Frenchman; with this difference, that whereas he reformed from the church of Rome, they have reformed from him. The Weſtminſter Confeſſion of faith is the ſtandard by which they go: in their worſhip they neither

uſe liturgy, nor notes; and in their diſcipline, there is no ſubordination of officers among them. They have ſynods, inſtead of dioceſan biſhops; and their aſſemblies ſupply the place of convocations of the clergy in England. At that time ſome of their private miniſters were looſe in their morals and vicious in their lives: and yet there were many men of probity and conſcience among them. Mr. Kinloch and Mr. Wallace were eminent for piety and learning: the hoſpitality of Principal Campbell, of the college of Glaſgow, was remarkable and great: the prudence of Mr. Ramſay, miniſter of Kelſo, of Mr. Kirk at Dornoch, and of Mr. Brown at Selkirk, was univerſally admired. Theſe and ſome others whom we could name might have adorned any church. But indeed thoſe in the moſt lucrative places were too obnoxious to the cenſure of the enemies of the government. Wiſhart, the Principal of the college of Edinburgh, was addicted to the groſſeſt and moſt ſenſual voluptuouſneſs, a man of little learning, and of ſtill leſs piety and religion. Gowdie, the Profeſſor, was a dull man: and eſtabliſhed there only that he might be enabled to diſcharge his debts: he was obſtinate to the higheſt degree, and ſo trifling, that he waſted the time of the ſtudents upon ſuch topics as, the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary, and whether or not Adam was the firſt man; and ſo devoted to the old Scottiſh words, that he has uſed them in his moſt elaborate diſcourſes; a man without learning, without ſympathy, and without feeling for his fellow creatures: however, with all his faults, both he and Wiſhart were intirely devoted to the Government: nor do I believe that his Majeſty has in the whole circle of his dominions, more faithful ſubjects, more cordially affected to his perſon, family, and government, than the national church

church of Scotland. The maſters of the univerſities were generally men of probity and ſkill, and the maſters of ſchools were very harmleſs and laborious men, extremely well ſkilled in claſſical learning.

The commiſſion of the Scots aſſembly publiſhed a warning to the people, and the inferior judicatures followed their example.

The maſters of the univerſity at Edinburgh returned, and on the 21ſt began to teach in their reſpective halls, being now ſecure, as General Roger Handaſyde, in Sir John Cope's place, had arrived from Berwick upon the 14th with Colonel Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons. The night they entered was one of the moſt boiſterous that has been obſerved, and proved fatal to ſeveral ſhips; among whom was the Fox man of war of 20 guns, which periſhed with her crew. Her wreck ſome time after was thrown in nigh Dunbar, where was found and decently interred the corpſe of Captain Beaver, who had ſo well defended the paſſage of Kinghorn during the ſtay of the rebels in the Lothians. His ſkull was terribly fractured, and his eyes eat out of his head, he having, as was apprehended, been daſhed againſt ſome craigs by the violence of the waves; his whole body was miſerably diſfigured, and had it not been for his legs, which were remarkably long, he could not have been diſtinguiſhed.

On the 13th the Lords of Juſticiary, attended by the freeholders of the counties of Merſe, of Eaſt and Mid-Lothians, entered the city on horſeback, and paſſed through the ſtreet then crowded with ſpectators. They were met by the late magiſtrates at the croſs, and loudly huzzaed by the people. Thence they proceeded to the Parliament

Cloſe, where alighting, they advaneed to the houſe, and being ſeated, Andrew Fletcher of Miltoun, then Lord Juſtice Clerk, informed them, "That "he and his brethren, conſcious of their duty to "their King, their country, and themſelves, laid "hold of the firſt opportunity of returning to "this capital, to endeavour with their help to "reſtore peace, and revive the civil government; "to ſhew to the world how little acceſſion the "ſouthern parts of Scotland had to the recent "calamities, from which they were lately deli-"vered; that Marſhal Wade had ordered a body "of troops to march for protection of this city, "and the adjacent country from inſults; that if "the preſent troubles did not ſubſide, proviſion "ſhould be made againſt any future diſturbance; "that the heritors of every pariſh ſhould make "up liſts of the able-bodied men in their reſpective "lands proper to be entruſted with arms; that "theſe were to be delivered to the reſpective ſhe-"riffs, to be tranſmitted by them to the perſons "appointed by the King for that purpoſe; that "application ſhould be made to the eſtabliſhed "church for their aſſiſtance in that affair."

The ſight of theſe was very agreeable upon the anniverſary of the battles of Preſton and of Dumblain thirty years before; the caſtle fired a round from her great guns, and the muſic-bells played tunes ſuitable to the occaſion. The methods propoſed were complied with. A new ſubſcription was opened by the city of Edinburgh for raiſing 1000 foot for his Majeſty's ſervice, and perſons by advertiſement were invited to ſign; gentlemen and clergy, ſome of whom headed their pariſhes, and acted the ſoldier, appeared in numbers; and in a ſhort time a ſufficient ſum was paid down; the drums beat through the city for recruits, and ſuch

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as had liſted formerly, but had been obliged to diſband on account of the rebels, were now deſired to repair to their duty, when they ſhould enter into the pay of 4 *s.* *per* week without diſcount. In a ſhort time 400 men enliſted, and were daily trained in the Parliament and College Cloſe by ſuch as had ſkill.

The 18th of December was by a Royal proclamation, dated November 12th, to have been obſerved as a day of humiliation and faſting; but by an unlucky circumſtance it was kept at Edinburgh and many other places rather as a feſtival; for on the Monday before, a falſe piece of intelligence, that the Duke had attacked the rebels at Lancaſter, and totally routed them, being publiſhed in the Evening Courant, the ſymptoms of grief gave place to thoſe of joy; the clergy preached the news from the pulpits, and exulted in the event.

The family of Argyle have ever been patrons of liberty. John the ſecond Duke of Argyle promoted the union of the crowns, and defeated the rebel army in the year 1715, when the preſent Duke, a nobleman of the utmoſt politeneſs and humanity, was his aid de camp. At the breaking out of the rebellion 1745, Archibald the third Duke of Argyle, a nobleman who ſhone among the ſons of genius, was of ſignal ſervice to the Government. He had been at Roſneath, one of his family ſeats, and getting one of the Pretender's letters into his hands*, and information concerning another, he ſhewed the ſame to Mr. Craigie, the then Lord Advocate, who only laughed at the matter; adding, that nothing could be apprehended from ſeven perſons: to which his Grace replied, "On account

* The Pretender had cauſed many letters to be wrote, which he ſigned; but referred to Murray of Broughton to direct them to whom he pleaſed.

" of the fewneſs of his numbers the more is to be " feared: and," with a ſmile, " the number ſeven " is frequent enough among the Romans." The matter was likewiſe laughed at by the Marquis of Tweedale, and other officers of ſtate: which when his Grace obſerved, he refrained from coming to the privy-council, till ſent for, and then he readily told his mind; and wrote to his principal gentlemen to be ready in the ſervice of their country.

The militia of Argyleſhire were ſoon muſtered, the act of parliament againſt any number of Highlanders riſing in arms being ſuſpended: and happy had it been for many poor people that the ſame had ſooner been done. Arms and warlike ſtores were ſhipped off from Liverpool for their uſe; and the preſent Duke of Argyle, then General Campbell, ſet out from London, to take upon him the command of theſe levies.

That officer had on the 4th of November arrived in the Thames with his regiment from Flanders, as did thoſe of General Handaſyde, Brigadiers Skelton, Bligh, Mordaunt, and Semple, with the Highlanders. All theſe officers, from the moment of their landing, were buſied in the ſervice of the Government; but none more than General Campbell, who arrived at Inverara on the 31ſt of December, with a commiſſion to raiſe 3400 men, which was ſoon effected. The private ſoldiers had full pay, but the officers only half. One party was ſtationed at Campbelltown in Kentire, to prevent any invaſion from Ireland, and to overawe the diſaffected clans ſcattered through the ſhire: the camp was formed at Inverara, whence detachments were ſent out to protect the country. One of theſe, of 300 men, attacked a ſquadron of the Macgregors, put them to flight, killed two and took ſeven priſoners. Garriſons were put into the caſtles along the

the coaſt, and the remainder only waited an opportunity of joining the regular forces.

So laudable an example was ſoon followed thro' the weſtern counties. The city of Glaſgow raiſed a regiment at her own expence; which was provided with arms from the caſtle of Edinburgh, and put under the command of the Earl of Hume. The town of Paiſley levied a corps of 210 men. The ſhire and town of Renfrew armed, under the Earl of Glencairn; as did the inhabitants of the reſpective counties, under their immediate Superiors and Lords. The ſame ſpirit of loyalty ſpread through the eaſtern and ſouthern parts of the kingdom, while the ſtorm raged in the north, and ſeveral unhappy people were carried down the ſtream of rebellion.

Some ſmall detachments of French troops dropped in with their privateers; and, on the 30th of November, Lord John Drummond arrived at Montroſe, with 600 men, 15 pieces of cannon, ſome of which of 18 pounders; theſe animating the party, they marched to Perth, where they formed a camp, to which ſome people of deſperate conditions actually repaired.

Among the number of thoſe was Lord Lewis Gordon, a petulant and refractory young man; the late Earl of Cromartie, a nobleman who in the heat of liquor was prevailed on to join. When at Inverneſs he proffered his ſervice to Sir John Cope, who not only refuſed it, but ſlighted his Lordſhip's Son ſo far, as not to beſtow upon him a commiſſion in a regiment of Highlanders then raiſing for the Government: a circumſtance which however trivial in itſelf, was yet made an handle of to ſtir up a man who had never been remarkable for judgment or ſagacity, during the courſe of his life.

Such a powerful appearance in the north, under the Viſcount of Strathallan, who had been left by the Pretender to ſecure the landings from France, at laſt prevailed on the Frazers to eſpouſe the cauſe, in which their Chieftain had been ſo long and ſo deeply involved.

The Earl of Loudon, being then in the country, told Lord Lovat, that he had as much againſt him as would hang every Frazer in his diſtrict; and the Lord Preſident of the Court of Seſſion diſſuaded him by letters, to the utmoſt of his power: the former went to his ſeat of Caſtle Downie, planted cannon againſt it, and carried old Simon in a chaiſe to the priſon of Inverneſs; out of which in three days Frazer of Gortuleg delivered him; for carrying a bundle of ſtraw into his room, under pretext of forming an eaſy bed for his Lordſhip, he ſtripped him to his ſhirt, rolled him in the ſtraw, carried him out on his ſhoulders, and that night conducted him to Gortuleg; where he kept up a treaſonable correſpondence with the Pretender and his principal followers.

This powerful party ſoon lorded it over the friends of the Government; a great body of whom was routed at Inverury by Lord Lewis Gordon on the 22d of December: the Monros and Macleods, with Mr. Maitland the ſheriff, were defeated by an handful of men.

An impotent attack or a faint reſiſtance is the greateſt ſervice that one enemy can do to another; the latter of which happened at Inverury, and at once determined the fate of that vaſt tract of ground interjacent between the Forth and the Spey. The public money was raiſed: the farmer and the proprietor were taxed in an arbitrary manner; the cattle and carriages of the labourer were ſeized, and the landings from France were ſupported.

Lord

Lord Loudon could not ſpare any men from his camp to regain the ſuperiority; he and the Preſident had ſufficient buſineſs on their hands, to thwart the ſtratagems of Lovat, and to hinder recruits from going to the enemy: and indeed in this they acted their parts ſo well, that Sir Alexander Macdonald, who could command 800 followers, with above 5000 others, were retained in their allegiance and duty.

But, notwithſtanding all their advantages, their communication with the lower parts of Scotland was cut off, by a ſquadron under the command of Admiral Byng, and ſometimes their reinforcements from Dunkirk were taken: as on the 25th of November, when the Lewis privateer of Dunkirk was taken by the Milford man of war, and in it 106 men, 330 ſtand of arms with bayonets, as many broad ſwords, with a great number of ſaddles and other furniture for horſes. To balance this loſs to the Chevalier, the Hazard ſloop of war fell into the hands of the French, who carried her to Dunkirk, and converted her into a privateer, to which they gave the name of the Prince Charles Snow. She three times carried troops, money, and ammunition, for the uſe of the enemy, and at a critical juncture fell into the hands of her firſt owners, who reſtored her to her ſervice and name.

Such was the condition of Scotland when the Pretender entered it, and by his preſence threw the balance into the ſcale of his party. At Glaſgow they were ſupplied with every thing neceſſary, ſuch as tartan, broad cloth, linen, bonnets, and ſhoes: the city was aſſeſſed in ten thouſand pounds, and the army lived upon free quarter. Paiſly and Renfrew, with the other adjacent counties, were aſſeſſed in ſums beyond their ability: and as the people of Liſmahagoe had been, in a particular manner, zea-

lous againſt his cauſe, the ſame was burnt to the ground. In ſhort, the Highland army ſpread themſelves from the Clyde to the Forth, obliging the regular forces to withdraw to Edinburgh, opening to themſelves a communication with their friends in the northern counties. The young Chevalier wrote a letter with his own hand to Lord Lovat, confirming another that had been ſigned by three of the principal chieftains, earneſtly begging he would pull off the maſk, and take upon him the ſole command as generaliſſimo.

After a repoſe of nine days, he ſet out on the 4th of January for Stirling, taking hoſtages with him for payment of the money exacted from the city: they ſoon got poſſeſſion of Stirling; but the caſtle there held out againſt them. General Blakeney, the governor, refuſed to treat with them any other way than from the mouths of his cannon; and they had got no artillery fit for carrying on a ſiege; that article was ſupplied by Lord John Drummond, and was tranſported on a brig which they had ſeized; the Pearl ſloop of war not being able, on account of the ſhallowneſs of the water, to prevent it: nor could they hinder the troops from Perth and Montroſe, on account of the fire of the batteries that had been erected on either ſhore by the enemy, from joining the main body of the Pretender's forces.

Things being in this ſituation, the army of Marſhal Wade was ordered to march into Scotland, to perfect what his Royal Highneſs the Duke had ſo well begun; and the command thereof was given to Lieutenant-general Henry Hawley, an officer of experience, tho' but indifferently beloved by the private men. He had been a Lieutenant-colonel in Evan's dragoons at the battle of Sheriffmuir, a circumſtance which promoted this choice more than

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the rigour and ſeverity for which he was but too remarkable. The officer next to him was Major-general John Huſk, a gentleman who knew Scotland well, having been quartered with his regiment of Welch fuſileers in the Canongate of Edinburgh about ten years before. He was exceedingly well beloved both by the forces and by the people of the country.

The ſending of Wade's army was extremely well judged, as that under his Royal Highneſs had gone through ſo ſevere a campaign. Perhaps no Engliſh army ever marched in ſo rigorous a ſeaſon, and never did troops go more chearfully through danger and fatigue. It muſt be owned, that they had uncommon encouragement: the King ſent each ſoldier two pair of ſhoes on his own charge; the Prince of Wales remitted to them 500 *l.* the citizens of London ſent them 12,000 pair of breeches, 12,000 ſhirts, 10,000 woollen caps, 10,000 pair of woollen ſtockings, 1000 blankets, 12,000 pair of knit woollen gloves, 9000 pair of woollen ſpatterdaſhes: the Duke allowed them 10 *l.* every day out of his private purſe, to enable the private men to pay the landlords of the inns where they might dine, or be quartered over night; but the generality of the inn-keepers refuſed to take any money from them, and the country people furniſhed them with horſes. Notwithſtanding the march muſt be ſuppoſed to be fatiguing, to men who ſometimes entered a town about eleven at night and were obliged again to be in arms by three in the morning; yet

No toils were painful that could danger ſhow,
Nor climes unlovely that contain'd a foe.

The troops deſtined for Scotland ſet out by detachments, and by different roads: ſome took the

rout of Haddington, others that of Lauder, and a third marched by the coaſt road, through Dunbar by North Berwick; finding every where the moſt hearty and cordial reception. At every place where they halted they were ſupplied from a fund appropriated for the purpoſe: each ſoldier had a pound of beef, a pound of bread, two-thirds of a quartern of gin or brandy, and a bottle of ale: and the farmers for thirty miles round brought their horſes to help them forward. By the 10th of January the whole had arrived at Edinburgh, where they were joined by Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons, Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, the Glaſgow and Paiſley militia, which with thoſe of the Lothians amounted to 4000 men, well armed, well cloathed, and hearty in the Government's cauſe.

On the 13th of January General Huſke marched with the foot regiments of Monro, Cholmondely, Price, Ligonier, and Batterau, the Glaſgow militia, Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons; and next day the regiments of Price, Barrel, and Pulteney marched by the way of Borrowſtonneſs; and on the 15th were followed by Flemings, Blakeney's, and a battalion of Sinclair's. They all rendezvouſed on the 16th at Falkirk, where, next day, they were joined by 1300 of the Argyleſhire militia. They indeed made a very noble appearance, and amounted to 8000 men: two-fourths of which knew their buſineſs very well, and the far greater part had ſerved under his Royal Highneſs at the battle of Fontenoy. In ſhort, nothing but management was wanting to bring things to an effectual and ſpeedy concluſion.

General Hawley, having followed the army the day after the laſt diviſion had quitted the city, and brought with him Cobham's dragoons, fell into one

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of theſe miſtakes which ſince the days of Sampſon have been accounted fatal to a commanding officer.

Scarce was he at Falkirk, when he received a meſſage from the Counteſs of Kilmarnock, deſiring the favour of his company. An invitation from a Lady ſo remarkable for wit and gaiety, could not be refuſed. Hawley went up to the Callendar, where he was entertained with great politeneſs and decorum, and the morning of the 17th proving rainy, ſhe made a poſſet for him with her own hands, to fortify him againſt the damp and the cold; he continued at the Callendar till between twelve and one in the afternoon, notwithſtanding the frequent expreſſes brought him, that the enemy was in the neighbourhood. At laſt one of theſe was ſo importunate, that the General reſolved to depart, and yet the aſcendancy of the Counteſs was ſuch, that ſhe prevailed on him to dine before ſetting out; and in the mean time the troops in the camp ſat down to dinner alſo; but before it was ended the Highland army was obſerved to move up the hill, and to extend themſelves upon it, at the diſtance of a mile ſouth-weſt from them; for Lord George Murray, brother to the Duke of Athole, who was that day the chief commander, had artfully placed the ſtandard at the Torwood, where it continued ſtanding, till the Highlanders were juſt entering the ground they intended for the field of battle. About two hours before, General Huſke had, through a glaſs, diſcovered their colours at four miles diſtance, directly weſt of his camp: on which he formed the army, to prevent a ſurprize; but could not march forward, either to the heights whereon was the battle, or toward the ſtandard, without orders from the ſuperior officer.

The Royaliſts looked at each other with impatience and aſtoniſhment, gazing for Hawley, but

Hawley was not to be found. Toward three o'clock he appeared all at once, and obſerving the enemy on the brow of the hill, he put himſelf at the head of the cavalry, who advanced with great reſolution and ſwiftneſs ſword in hand, the infantry following as faſt as poſſible, and huzzaing as they approached. Unhappily for him the enemy was duly prepared; for juſt when the horſes were within three yards of their lines, they gave ſo cloſe a fire, that men and horſes promiſcuouſly tumbled down; ſome indeed broke through their ranks, but theſe opening, every one of them was either killed or taken priſoners; while the major part turned about their heads, and ſcattered with great impetuoſity and vehemence, in ſpite of their riders, who did every thing poſſible to retain them. They returned upon the flank of the Glaſgow militia, which they greatly diſordered; the confuſion ſpreading inſenſibly, four regiments out of ſix, that compoſed the firſt line, were hurried down the ſtream, and the rout had been general, had not Brigadier Cholmondely ſtopt it, at his diviſion; for wheeling with Barrel's and Ligonier's foot, the Old Buffs, and a battalion of the Scots Royal, theſe advanced ſome paces with a good aſpect, and the enemy began to haſten forward; but that diviſion commanded by General Huſke gave them ſo cloſe and full a fire, as made them halt without proceeding further. Unhappily for the troops, Colonel Cunningham of the train, had fled off without planting the artillery, and the conductors had run away with their horſes. A violent ſtorm of wind began to blow full in the face of the Royal army, wet their clothes and their cartridges, ſo as to render them incapable to proceed, as the flints would not ſtrike, the powder would not burn, and the twentieth gun was not fit to be diſcharged. Both armies looked at each other,

other, the Highlanders being unwilling to move for fear of an ambuſh, and in hopes of ſurprizing them next morning, as they had done by Cope at Preſton-pans. General Huſke ſaw into the extent of their deſign, and therefore moved off, with drums beating, colours flying, and the other ſigns of a brave and reſolute behaviour, and joined the ſhattered runaways, who by this time had been rallied by Sir John Mordaunt, as were the dragoons by Colonel Francis Ligonier. They all advanced to Falkirk, where, for fear of a ſurprize, it was agreed to march that night to Linlithgow, as it was not ſafe to ſtay in the neighbourhood of a reſolute enemy, without cannon, or any other kind of artillery. This being ſettled, the Argyleſhire militia drew up at the bottom of a park dyke, and along their line the troops defiled, till all were paſſed, and the militia forming, brought up the rear. They advanced that night to Linlithgow, viz. ſix miles, the wind and rain ſtill continuing, and next night the whole came to Edinburgh in ſuch panic and ſurprize, that I really believe one thouſand deſperadoes could at that time have cut the whole army to pieces. One thing is certain, that if ever the Highlanders wanted a day fit for uſing their ſwords, it was the 17th of January 1746, when they were ſo much aſſiſted by a ſtorm, and the bad management of the officer commanding againſt them. It is true, that on the field of battle the two men, who had the Pretender's cauſe moſt at heart, were that day the ruin thereof. When his cavalry firſt began to purſue on the ſeparating of the dragoons, Roy Steuart cried out, "Gentlemen, keep your ranks, theſe are only Cope's "dragoons, you have the battle yet to fight;" and when Lord John Drummond, another aid de camp, obſerved the Royal Scots to wheel, he called out

out to the troops, who were upon the point of running down upon them, "that regiment be-"haved admirably well at Fontenoy, pray keep "your ranks;" and ſo they deſiſted: but what was ſtill more, Lord Kilmarnock proffered to conduct them through ſome incloſures, by which they could get ſooner to Linlithgow than the Royaliſts; but in this he was not believed.

Such ſurprizing eſcapes were attributed by ſome to the immediate hand of Providence, without conſidering the mean by which the interpoſition thereof ſo ſignally appeared. If my heart does not deceive me, no man is, or at leaſt ought to be, more convinced of the reality of a ſuperintending Providence than I am. And on that day it was viſible indeed! but viſible as it was, let us trace out the mean by which the ſame wrought ſo powerfully in behalf of the King's army.

When the enemy ſaw that the Royaliſts were gone, they began to march, both to ſecure the baggage of the troops, or to attack them at Falkirk, as they ſaw opportunity. Cameron of Lochiel, with his two battalions, entered the weſt end of the town, juſt as the rear of the King's army was marching from the eaſt, and Falkirk is not above three quarters of a mile long. At this very inſtant he was told, that the Argyleſhire militia brought up the rear; an event which not a little ſtartled him, and all at once made him become penſive and thoughtful. By his mother, a ſiſter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnel, he was related almoſt to all the officers of the Lorn battalion *. By his Lady, a daughter of Sir James

* To my certain knowledge above twelve of theſe were his firſt couſins; among whom was Colonel Dugal Campbell, who was my pupil for two years, whoſe brother was killed at Culloden

Campbell of Achinbreck, he was connected with all the officers of the Kilmartin battalion; and theſe were the militia who were there. Many of his own officers were cloſely connected with them likewiſe, not only by blood, but by correſpondence, neighbourhood, and traffic. He was only in the rebellion from a falſe principle of honour, and from paſſing his word to Lord Lovat in an unguarded moment; he could not think of fighting hand to hand with men for whom he had a thorough kindneſs, and the moſt ſincere and affectionate regard. The other officers, obſerving a ſort of backwardneſs in him, without conſidering the prevailing motive, gave over all thoughts of a purſuit for that night; contenting themſelves with ſeizing upon Hawley's baggage (among which was the very poſt chaiſe that had carried him to Scotland) with that of the general officers, nay, of the whole army; for neither ſoldiers nor officers retained any thing but their arms.

Such was the battle of Falkirk, in which the King's army were repulſed, but not broken, and in which the enemy made ſo little of their advantage. On the ſide of the former 250 were killed, among whom were Colonel Sir Robert Monro, the Lieutenant-Colonels Whitney, Biggar, and Powell, three Cornets of horſe, thirteen Captains, and two Lieutenants, 300 were wounded, and about 230 taken priſoners (but theſe were moſtly of the Glaſgow and other militia) with Captain Thornton, and ſeventeen of his Yorkſhire blues. He continued among them for ſome days, when William Henderſon, a chapman, contrived his eſcape, by ſecreting him in a cheſt, and keeping him cloſe in

Culloden on the ſide of the government, and who was afterward member of parliament for the ſhire of Argyle.

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that repoſitory, even while the rebels were in the room in queſt of him.

On the ſide of the enemy about fifty were killed, but none of note, and as many wounded; among whom were Lord John Drummond and Lochiel; one Major Macdonald was taken priſoner. He had ſeized upon one of the dragoon horſes after his rider had been killed, and mounted on horſe-back. The horſe, on hearing the drum beat to arms, in conſequence of Ligonier's rallying the dragoons, run off with the major into the midſt of them without halting. Finding himſelf in a net, he began to act as one of the Argyleſhire militia; but General Huſke detected him as an impoſtor, and had him directly ſecured. He was afterward hanged, drawn, and quartered at Carliſle.

Never was a body of forces of ſuch undoubted bravery and reputation repulſed with ſo ſmall a loſs, and never was a victory improved to ſo little advantage; and yet the poor country continued to bleed for a time, in conſequence of the ſtrange and unaccountable event, which was indeed the more ſurprizing, as it was believed at St. James's that the rebellion had breathed her laſt, and the public tranquillity had been reſtored.

The End of the SIXTH BOOK.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

BOOK VII.

CONTENTS.

The Arrival of his Royal Highneſs in Scotland,—*the Retreat of the Pretender's Army*,—*the Operations of the* Heſſians,—*the Paſſage of the* Spey,—*and the Battle of* Culloden.

WHEN the news of the battle of Falkirk firſt reached London, it raiſed an univerſal ſurprize; for removing which the Duke himſelf ſet out on the 25th, by two in the morning, for Scotland; where he arrived about three in the morning of the 30th, attended by James Duke of Athole, the Earl of Albemarle, Lord Bury, Lord Cathcart, and ſome other officers. The citizens of Edinburgh on the night before had expreſſed their joy for the coming of their Deliverer, by the moſt ſplendid illuminations, the ringing of bells, and

and other demonſtrations of gladneſs; and altho' the day was immoderately cold, yet multitudes went out to meet him.

No ſooner had he arrived than he ſent notice to the general officers, to come to him by eight in the morning, and to bring with them ſuch accounts as were requiſite with regard to the ſituation of the forces; whoſe numbers by this time had been recruited by the arrival of the dragoons of St. George, and of General Bland, with the Duke of Kingſton's horſe, and the foot regiments of Colonel Campbell and Lord Semple: a military cheſt, eſcorted by a party of St. George's dragoons, towards paying the army, came in; as did ſixteen pieces of cannon from Newcaſtle, in order to replace the ten which had been loſt at Falkirk; and with theſe came a ſufficient quantity of ſtores, with 40 gunners and matroſſes to work them. Every thing was put into the beſt poſture imaginable; only ſome ſeverities had been uſed by Hawley, which tended to diſcourage thoſe under his command. Many of the private men were whipped in a terrible manner; the ſhrieks and cries of their wives and children were too piercing to be related. Four dragoons were hanged at one time, in the Graſs-market, about noon, and continued on the gibbet for twenty-four hours: two were to ſuffer on the morning when his Highneſs arrived; but the ſentence was reſpited, and they were received into their own corps.

At the time appointed the generals waited on him, with an account of what was paſt: and theſe threw no blame on each other. Hawley's conduct was approved; and yet it was judged, that he was more proper to obey than to command. Brave, bold Huſke accuſed no body; he complained of no body, and wanted only to cruſh the inſurrection,

fection, and to reſtore the public tranquillity. While the general officers were in the room with his Highneſs, the Nobility and ſuch Lords of Seſſion as were in town went to congratulate him on his arrival. About one o'clock the Miniſters of the Preſbytery of Edinburgh, and ſuch others of that profeſſion as were in the place, went in a body to welcome him; and laſtly came the Maſters of the Univerſity, with the college mace carried before them: all had the honour to kiſs his hand, and met with the moſt gracious reception.

This being over he walked down ſtairs, to view the ſixteen pieces of cannon in the Cloſe, and upon the ſpot where the Pretender's had ſtood before. As he came out of the gate, the drums ruffed, a loud and continued huzza enſued. He walked along the cannon, placed in two parallel lines, ſcarcely taking his eye from off them, and looking all the time majeſtic and ſerene. This being over he returned to the room, the ſame in which the Pretender had lodged before, ſat down to dinner, with his officers, and then began to concert the operations of the army.——The reſult of the conſultation was, that the troops ſhould march next day, by four in the morning: the orders were ſecretly intimated; and never did more chearfulneſs appear among a body of men: for, repining at Hawley's ſeverity, they looked upon his Royal Highneſs as their deliverer and friend. Some ſoldiers who had after the battle of Fontenoy been compelled to liſt in Lord John Drummond's brigade, embraced the firſt opportunity of deſerting, and gave the King's troops the beſt intelligence in their power: their ſervices were ingratefully received by General Hawley, but now were properly acknowledged.

At the time appointed the troops were in readineſs to march. About half an hour paſt four in

the morning they ſet out in two columns, conſiſting of fourteen battalions of foot, the Argyleſhire militia, and the dragoons of the Viſcount Cobham and of Lord Mark Ker. General Huſke led the van, and the artillery brought up the rear. About nine his Highneſs ſet out in a coach, that had been ſent him by the Earl of Hopton, a nobleman ſo well affected to the Government and ſo well diſpoſed, that he ſent twelve guineas to every foot regiment, and twenty-five to the Argyleſhire Highlanders. And here his Highneſs acted every way like a ſoldier: for, as the report of the guns in Edinburgh Caſtle could in a clear day be heard at Stirling, ſo he wanted that no intimation ſhould be given to the enemy: and, as a further precaution, Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons were ordered to patrole along the roads leading weſtward. Coming up with the troops at about ſeven miles diſtance, his Highneſs put himſelf at the head of the Royal Scots, and, as he paſſed along the lines, earneſtly expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms: "Gentlemen, there is a near proſpect of a battle, and "if there is any perſon here who is unwilling to "engage, pray let them ſpeak freely, and with "pleaſure they ſhall have my diſcharge: nor ſhall "their quitting the ſervice be ever thrown out as "a reflection upon the country to which they be-"long." The whole anſwered with repeated ſhouts and acclamations; and the two ſoldiers pardoned that morning were the firſt to raiſe the huzza. That night eight battalions marched to Linlithgow with the Duke, and Sir John Mordaunt with ſix to Borrowſtonneſs; the dragoons to the adjacent villages, and the Argyleſhire men in front towards the Avon. Next day they were put in motion by four in the morning, and at the weſt end of the bridge were drawn up in order of battle, in which

they

they marched toward Falkirk, and were joined in their way by the dragoons, the militia, and by Brigadier Mordaunt's diviſion: about ten in the morning they entered Falkirk; but, to their aſtoniſhment, no enemy was near them.

By this march of the troops the ſiege of the caſtle of Stirling was raiſed. It had not been very hard preſſed, on account of the unfitneſs of the enemy, and the reſolution of General Blakeney to hold out to the laſt. He anſwered the ſummons of the Pretender in very pertinent terms: "That he "was always looked upon as a man of honour, and "that the Rebels ſhould find he would die ſo." The cutting off all communication with the town did not diſhearten the garriſon, then conſiſting of 600 men. Two batteries, that had been erected under cover of ſome woolpacks, were diſmounted by the fire of the garriſon; and theſe ſuffered no inconvenience except in the breaſt-work of the rampart, a ſmall part of which was beat down. Stirling was delivered before ſhe was aware, and the Caſtle was relieved before ſhe knew that the Duke of Cumberland was arrived. The enemy moved off their baggage on the 31ſt in the morning, with about twenty pieces of cannon, having ſpiked up ſome others; and endeavoured to ſet fire to a magazine of powder, which had been laid up in the church of St. Ninian, to prevent its falling into the hands of the troops: however the train miſſed, and the noble fabric of St. Ninians might have been ſtanding, had it not been for ſeven ſtragglers, who lagged behind, went to the church in queſt of prey, and in expectation of ſome houſhold furniture that had been hidden there in great quantities: a private man called Macintoſh came to the window, and, at the deſire of a French engineer, fired a piſtol thro' it. The ſhock was ſudden; the powder

blazed; the plunderers, the incendiary, the ſeats and roof blew up in the air, and the ſtones flew about the church-yard, ſtruck ſome of the towns people, while the whole were ſtunned at the terrible convulſion. The report was heard for many miles round: the Duke's army rightly judging it to be an indication of a retreat, Brigadier Mordaunt was ſent forward with the dragoons and the Argyleſhire militia to harraſs them, but they were gone too far: and the enemy looked upon it as an attack upon one of their parties. They had already croſſed the Forth, and now redoubled their flight toward Crief; where, holding a council of war, they ſeparated into different bodies, and appointed Inverneſs to be the place of their rendezvous. Their ſcheme was to make the country as ſerviceable to them as poſſible; to collect the public money, and to take up proviſions; and to favour the landings from France. The greater part, with the Pretender at their head, took the road of Perth, where they threw the ſwivels taken out of the Hazard ſloop into the Tay, and nailed up thirteen pieces of braſs cannon, of eight and twelve pounders. Here they ſubdivided, Lord George Murray taking the rout by Dundee, Montroſe, Aberdeen, Bamff, and Elgin of Murray, while the Chevalier and the principal clans advanced by the way of the Blair of Athole; where after ſtaying five days they continued their march to Ruthven of Badenoch; the barracks of which they blew up: and finding a man, called Riddell, who was carrying letters to Lord Loudon, which he had ſecreted between the ſoles of his ſhoes, the poor fellow was taken up and hanged. From this place they proceeded to Agymore, where the Grants of Strath-Spey entered into a neutrality with them, neither to fight for or againſt them. Hence they went to Inverneſs, where Major George Grant,

Grant, the governor, gave them little trouble; for, contrary to the advice of Mr. Thomſon the gunner, and of Lieutenant Graham, of Guiſe's regiment, he ſurrendered the fort, upon no other condition but that of ſaving his own baggage; while that of the officers and private men was permitted to the enemy. There were in it about 100 of the name of Grant, many of whom liſted with the enemy, or were permitted to depart by the intereſt of friends.

When all was over the Pretender came from Caſtlehill into the town, and had the pleaſure of ſeeing the chief place and principal fort in the north in his hands. By this conqueſt he acquired 12 pieces of cannon, 16 barrels of powder and ball, beſides other ammunition and military ſtores, 100 barrels of beef, and 500 bolls of oatmeal. A governor was directly appointed, however ſhort-lived was his command; for the outworks and body of the place were ſoon blown up. A ſtrange deluſion indeed! to deſtroy a caſtle which gave luſtre to the town, and on which the government had expended 50,000*l.* but thirteen years before.

On the very day when the fort ſurrendered, the van of the party which had taken the coaſt road came into the town, and the other diviſions ſucceſſively arrived, making the moſt of their march; for having met with two Spaniſh privateers at Stonehive, they took 100 cheſts of arms ou of them, beſides a large quantity of powder and ball, which Roy Steuart took particular care to tranſport ſafe to Inverneſs, which was from this time denominated the head quarters.

The rebel army being got together, detachments were ſent every-where to ſecure proviſions, and to keep the country in awe. Every ſhire and diſtrict was viſited by ſuch as ſeemed beſt acquainted there-

with; the Camerons and Macdonalds of Glengary were ſent to Fort Auguſtus and Fort William; the former fell into the hands of the enemy, with Major Wentworth the governor, and three companies of Guiſe's regiment, a ball having fallen into the powder magazine. The fort was turned into a place of confinement for the troops which they could not tranſport *, and ſo continued till the 13th of April, when the whole barracks, on which the government had expended 30,000 *l.* were blown up. The garriſon of Fort William was more fortunate; and notwithſtanding the town was burnt, yet Captain Scott the governor took ſuch care of the fort, that he diſputed every inch of ground with them, and obliged them to retire with the loſs of their batteries, which conſiſted of the artillery taken from Sir John Cope at the battle of Preſtonpans, and two large mortars. We cannot paſs over this account of the priſoners, who fell into their hands, without taking notice of a fact, which does not a little illuſtrate the ſpirit of the party. Such of the ſoldiers of the garriſons of Inverneſs and Fort Auguſtus, as were confined in the former, were put into a church, and there ſtript of their clothes, in order to beſtow them upon the recruits that were coming in. Fortunately for them one Fleming, the Marquis of Tullibardin's gentleman, came by, and ſaw their diſtreſs; the men complained of their hardſhips, and he was prevailed on to intercede in their behalf. Their clothes were ſoon ordered to be reſtored, which indeed they had better have wanted, for many of them liſted with the Adventurer, and ſoon came to an untimely end; perhaps the party wanted to cloath the Frazers,

* Many priſoners were ſent to Dunkirk in the privateers that carried troops and ammunition into Scotland.

who

who now crowded in with impunity. Before this time many of them refuſed, till Macdonald of Bariſdale, and young Frazer of Inneralachy, carried the bloody croſs among them, and threatened to burn them in their own houſes, if they did not take up arms and rebel.

Lord Cromartie was ſent into Roſsſhire, as the bulk of his eſtate lay there; and Macdonald of Bariſdale was diſpatched after the Earl of Loudon, and the militia under his command. Happily for his Lordſhip the fire from the garriſon prevented their croſſing the bridge after him; they were obliged to ford the Neſs a conſiderable way nearer the mouth of the harbour, and all the time the Royaliſts were gaining ground, and had paſſed the ferry of Keſſoch before their purſuers could arrive at the ſhore thereof. This obliged Bariſdale to march about five miles higher up, to croſs at Beulie, and from thence to follow his purſuit. The next day he came in view of them about three in the afternoon, and certainly would have committed a moſt dreadful havock, had it not been for the Vulture ſloop of war, whoſe head juſt appeared within the Sutors * of Cromartie, as Bariſdale and his corps were ſeen upon the brow of the hill; the loyal militia huzzaed, and made every other ſignal for the Vulture to come near, but they had no boats to ſend off to her: the ſignals were known, the ſloop came as near as poſſible, and fired three cannon toward the hill; three of the corps fell by the ſhot, ſeveral were wounded, and the remainder returned the way they came. In the mean time the Loyaliſts were tranſported into Roſsſhire on board the Vulture's boats, and other ſmall craft as they

* A corruption of the Greek word Σωτηρες, Deliverers, becauſe when once a ſhip is within theſe, ſhe is ſafe from the moſt violent ſtorms.

could find on the oppoſite ſhore. They proceeded in their rout to Sutherland, where they encamped at Dornoch, the only town in the county. In this manner they acted in the ſhires more immediately in their power, and continued to ſend out parties every-where, even within a day's march of the grand army, where no preparations were neglected bring matters to a final concluſion.

For no ſooner had his Royal Highneſs got rid of the compliments of the city of Glaſgow, and the deputies from the adjacent villages and towns, than he ſet out from Falkirk to Stirling, which he entered amidſt the loudeſt acclamations and huzzas, that were anſwered by three rounds from the cannon of the fort. It was indeed no wonder, for the common people of that part of the kingdom are in a particular manner devoted to Preſbyterian church government, which the Pretender would never ratify; and to heighten their ſatisfaction, the Duke was attended by a crowd of priſoners, who at the late battle had fallen into the hands of the enemy. He only ſtaid here till the 4th, when the arch of the bridge, that had been blown up by General Blakeney for retarding the progreſs of the enemy, had been repaired. That day the army marched, and proceeded to Crief, where they arrived next morning, while one party turned to Caſtle Drummond, ſeized the Dutcheſs of Perth, and another turned to Strathallan, and took the Viſcounteſs, both of whom were eſcorted to the Caſtle of Edinburgh, where on the 11th they were cloſely confined, there being the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion that the former had prevailed on her ſon, and the other on her huſband, to join the Chevalier. Next day the troops advanced to Perth, where magazines of proviſion were laid in. Here the noblemen and gentlemen of the adjacent counties waited on him,

as

as did the miniſters and the deputations from the towns. He received them all in a very princely and becoming manner, and then returned to buſineſs, from which no viſits could divert him. Detachments were inſtantly ſent out to ſecure the paſſes; Sir Andrew Agnew was diſpatched to Dunkeld with 500 of the infantry, and 120 of the Argyleſhire militia; Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton was ſent with a party of 500 men to Caſtle Menzies, in order to prevent the excurſions of the enemy. Here he continued till the 18th, when he ſet out for Edinburgh, attended only by Lord Cathcart, and ſome few ſervants, in order to confer with his brother-in-law the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who had lately arrived from Holland with a body of 5000 men.

Theſe troops had been hired from Frederic King of Sweden, in conſequence of an agreement concluded at London with the Heſſian Envoy. His Swediſh Majeſty was to receive the annual ſubſidy of 150,000 crowns while the treaty exiſted, and 250,000, if they ſhould be diſmiſſed before the determination of it; they were to receive the ſame pay as the national Britiſh troops, were only to be employed in Great Britain, or in ſupport of her Allies in the Low Countries; the charge of their tranſportation both coming and going ſhould be defrayed; eighty crowns were to be paid for every horſeman that ſhould be wanting, and thirty for every foot ſoldier. In conſequence of this agreement they repaired to Williamſtadt, where on the 5th they embarked on board thirty-ſix tranſports, and under convoy of four men of war arrived at Leith about five o'clock at night of the 8th.

A very proper and timely ſupply, eſpecially as the Dutch troops had been recalled, in order, as was given out, to prevent the incroachments of France

France upon their barrier; nay, ſo very preſſing were the States General, that even while the Pretender was in England they not only made a requiſition of the auxiliaries which they had ſent over, but alſo of a body of Britiſh troops to protect them. His Highneſs of Heſſe received the ſame honours as his brorher-in-law, and his corps was cantoned in the beſt and moſt commodious manner; they were really very fine troops, cloathed in blue, with white livery, whoſe ſhape was varied for diſtinction ſake; their huſſars, about 500, looked extremely well, wore ſcimitars of a great length, which hung by a cord tied round their bodies; their horſes were long-tailed, of a ſtrong make, and generally black, of a much leſs ſize than thoſe of the Britiſh army, but more durable and fit for uſe; they were moſtly Swediſh, or of that brood, which is reckoned the moſt ſerviceable in the northern nations.

The Royal Brothers having met and conſulted together, the reſult of their conference was, that the Britiſh army was to march to Aberdeen, and the Heſſians to Perth, and from thence to Blair of Athole, in order to ſtop the return of the enemy, and to hem them in upon every quarter. The plan was followed, and the Heſſians, with the Earl of Crauford at their head, advanced to Blair with only two men killed, and one wounded, by ſome random ſhot that had been directed againſt them from behind buſhes and copſes of wood.

His Royal Highneſs being returned to Perth, he on the 20th put the troops in motion in four diviſions; two of them took the road of Cowpar of Angus, whither two battalions of foot and 250 horſe had marched ſix days before; another directed their march to Dundee, the artillery followed, and by the way of Forfar and Brechin arrived on the

22d

22d at Montroſe with the main body of the army. Here the magiſtrates behaved in a very handſome manner; they in a body complimented his Highneſs, and very hoſpitably entertained the troops; the officers were regaled in the beſt houſes of the town, while every ſoldier had either rum or brandy, and a biſcuit for their refreſhment.

At this place a court-martial ſat for the trial of ſome officers, one of whom was broke for rifling the houſe of Mr. Oliphant of Gaſk, notwithſtanding that gentleman was in the rebellion. On the 24th his Highneſs emitted a proclamation for ſuch as had returned with their arms, or ſuch as had any of their effects to bring them in, thoſe who had been aſſiſting to them, and lurking about the country, to give in their names and places of abode to the next magiſtrate or miniſter of the church of Scotland, and entirely to ſubmit to the King's mercy.

This voluntary condeſcenſion had not the effect that could be wiſhed, merely owing to the ſame cauſes that had defeated the intent of M. Wade's declaration from Newcaſtle; and what was ſtill a further hindrance, the few inhabitants in that county, who had taken up arms, had either been killed in ſkirmiſhes, ſeized at Carliſle, or were in the camp at Inverneſs, where the private men were kept in ignorance of what was doing, and the officers were both afraid and aſhamed.

On the 26th his Highneſs ſet out for Aberdeen, where on the 28th he arrived with the troops; the magiſtrates went out to meet him, and uſhered him into the city, which he entered amidſt repeated and accumulated huzzas; the maſters of both colleges ſtood before the gate welcoming him in, and next day waited on him, as did the clergy, who were all moſt graciouſly received; the principal

noblemen and gentlemen came to pay him their compliments; the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Aberdeen, Kintore, and Finlater, with the Lords Braco, Forbes, and Strichen; and at laſt the Laird of Grant, with 100 of his name. This ſtep was looked upon by the rebels as a breach of the neutrality; Lord Nairn was ſent into Strath-Spey with the regiment of his name to remonſtrate againſt it, when he was told that an handſome retinue attending their chieftain was no ſubſtantial infringement of the bargain; Nairn admitted the apology, and being not only regaled with his party, but ſupplied with a conſiderable quantity of proviſion for the camp, he retired with all poſſible ſatisfaction.

While at Aberdeen his Highneſs acted in ſo princely and amiable a manner, that friends and enemies were obliged to confeſs the ſuperiority of his genius, and the moſt diſtinguiſhing abilities. He daily roſe at four, reviewed his troops, appeared at entertainments, walked the ſtreets with his officers, and eſtabliſhed hoſpitals for the ſick; he likewiſe ſent out parties to ſcour the country, one of which, conſiſting of 200 foot and 80 horſe, marched up the Don to Braemar to ſeize upon the rebel magazines, and to recover the booty of the ſouthern counties, which lay concealed there. The clergy were very aſſiſting in this expedition, as they conducted the detachment to the ſhallows and fords of the river, and directed them to the hidden caverns, where the magazines and valuable effects had been ſecreted. During this ſearch none but actual rebels were moleſted, nor were any goods ſeized, except ſuch as had been forcibly taken away; for when ſome ſoldiers went to a gentleman's houſe and robbed it, the officer was tried, and broke by a court-martial; another was ſerved in the ſame manner for taking ſix guineas from a merchant of Aberdeen,

Aberdeen, as a reward to preſerve his ſhop from being rifled. In a word, nothing was wanting to animate the troops, and to protect the country on the part of his Royal Highneſs.

Of the different parties ſent out from the camp, none met with the leaſt diſaſter, except a ſmall detachment belonging to the Earl of Albemarle.

That nobleman had been ſent to a place called Strathbogie, the ancient ſeat of the family of Gordon, and with him General Bland, having under his command the regiments of Barrel, Price, Cholmondely, and the Scots Royal, Cobham's dragoons, Kingſton's horſe, and 60 men of the Lorn battalion. Juſt about this time Roy Steuart and Major Glaſcoe had come down with an intent to penetrate as far as poſſible. His Royal Highneſs had an account of their deſign before his Lordſhip had got half way to the place appointed; on which he ſent Colonel Conway, one of his aids de camp, to Inverurie, with orders to General Bland to march forward to attack them. Bland was in motion in a moment, he joined the foot regiments in their way from Old Meldrum, and both marched with ſuch alacrity, that they were within half a mile of the enemy before they were diſcerned. The rebels then waiting dinner, fled off immediately; only ſome of their huſſars drew up upon the green, and made a ſhew of ſtanding upon the defenſive; but this was only to favour the retreat of the foot. They withdrew with great dexterity to a place called Weſterton, at a mile's diſtance, and there halted until a party of the Argyleſhire militia appeared in their front, and a ſquadron of Kingſton's horſe were obſerved to ford the Devron below them. This determined them to file off. The Royaliſts purſued to the top of the hill of Cairnie, but there ſtopped; only the Marquis of Granby, Colonel Conway,

Conway, and other volunteers advanced a few yards further, and fired ſome piſtols, but the fire was not retruned; for Roy Steuart's intention was to decoy them into the middle of a party, who had been there laid in ambuſh, but he was diſappointed.

Some few days after Roy Steuart contrived another ſcheme for ſeizing upon 30 of Kingſton's horſe, and 50 Argyleſhire Highlanders, at a place called Keith, within ſix miles of the Spey. Theſe had marched to the hill above Caſtle Gordon, but retired for fear of being overpowered. The enemy, taking them for an outguard of a much greater body, ſet out after them about ten at night, and arrived by one in the morning. The avenues to that town were ſtopt; Major Glaſcoe came up to the centry, who ſaid, "Who's there;" "A friend," replied the other, "of the Duke of Cumberland," and directly ſeized him. The man was diſarmed, and a piſtol held to his breaſt, threatening immediate death if he cried; two others were ſerved in the ſame manner: fortunately one of the centinels fired and gave the alarm: all was confuſion at once: Kingſton's horſe were all taken, except five, with two men and a cornet; a party of the Highlanders were ſeized in their beds, except twelve men, who retired into the church-yard, and fired from it: however, theſe were ſoon overpowered, and driven into the church, out of which they fired, and received the fire of the enemy through the windows; ſeven of the party were killed, and five wounded. In ſhort, only one eſcaped to the Earl of Albemarle, who diſpatched an expreſs to Aberdeen; the Duke ſent him two battalions, and ordered out Brigadier Mordaunt with three others, and four pieces of cannon, to Old Meldrum, to be near to ſupport his Lordſhip.

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This ſucceſsful attempt upon Keith was the very foundation of their not purſuing a deſign ſtill more ample and extenſive; for Roy Steuart had laid a plan for ſurprizing the Earl of Albemarle in his head quarters: fortunately for his Lordſhip one Macaty, a ſchoolmaſter at Glaſs, got intelligence of it, and communicated the ſame to the camp. The troops were kept in readineſs, and under arms, ſo that the enemy did not come forward; however, by watching and impatience the men became weary and fatigued; they had watched for three days and three nights together, and about twilight of the third day the man again brought information that the enemy was drawing near. His Lordſhip of Albemarle did not believe him, and therefore ſpeaking to him in a manner different from his uſual politeneſs, he ordered him to be ſent to Aberdeen, where he received 500 hundred laſhes for wilfully giving falſe intelligence; he was likewiſe diſciplined at Old Meldrum and Strathbogie, and then diſmiſſed with orders to tell the rebels, that the King's troops were prepared for them. Hawley was the occaſion of this ſeverity: "For," ſaid he, "his deſign is to ruin the army "through want of ſleep, and then to bring the "enemy upon them." This indeed was the deſign of Roy Stuart, but not of the poor man. Notwithſtanding his hardſhip, Macaty gave no hurtful intelligence to the enemy: and yet theſe heard of the puniſhments he had undergone, and of the meſſage ſent by him. Overawed with the alertneſs of the King's troops they kept near the Spey, at the diſtance of twelve long miles from Albemarle's quarters, from whence, as from them, there were ſent out patroling parties, to get the beſt information poſſible of each other's progreſs.

Though

Though theſe incidents might have diverted the enemy, yet it could not effectually have prevailed on them to lay aſide the deſign of ſurprizing the troops in the night-time. Secretary John Murray, who about this time fell ſick of a cold, was the perſon who altered the method of their proceeding, and adviſed to fortify the banks of the Spey, and to wait the Duke's army at this place.

The river of Spey is one of the moſt rapid in Europe; by experiment it is found to run at the rate of fourteen miles in an hour, and for the ſpace of thirty miles, meandring through a fertile country; it empties itſelf into the ſea, a little below Garmouth, a ſmall village famous for being the landing place of King Charles II. anno 1650. No river in Britain is ſo ſwelled by the rains and the ſnows. The hidden caverns in Galloway don't fill the Tweed, the heights of Breadalbane do not ſend ſuch a ſupply from their melted ſnows into the Forth, lake Tay and its adjacent eminencies do not ſo fully repleniſh the river of its name, the Dee does not receive ſuch a quantity of water from Braemar, nor the Don from the hills of Inhercauel, as the Spey does from the mountains of Badenoch and the impetuous ſtreams that run into it; and its narrowneſs, being about forty yards over at a medium, contributes to the velocity of its flow. For fifteen miles it rolls with great force, and only in three places are fords to be found. Cromdale is the higheſt; the ford of Achainanie is about eight miles lower down, and hither Roy Steuart was ſent with 700 men draughted from different corps, and two pieces of cannon. Nine miles lower was the ford of Bellie, over-againſt Gordon-caſtle, and near the mouth of the river. Lord John Drummond had the direction of the batteries to be fixed there. Theſe were ordered to be placed upon two emi-

nences, ſo as to flank each other within the reach of cannon ſhot. The rapidity of the river and ſteepneſs of its banks gave them the greateſt encouragement; but in this they deceived themſelves, as in other things: for Lord John was no engineer, and the batteries, notwithſtanding the remonſtrance of the Secretary, were neglected. The Pretender was at a diſtance, buſied about other things: he was receiving recruits in great numbers from among the different branches of the Catti, and from the weſtern parts of Roſsſhire, as alſo ſeveral ſupplies from abroad: at times he affected to be gay, paid viſits through the country, and once declared his curioſity to ſee a ſalmon caught with a rod upon the water of Beuly. His parties were not come in from the excurſions on which they had gone out. A battalion of the Athole men had been ſent to Cuſhiville and Cainachan: theſe ſurprized a ſmall party of the Argyleſhire militia; but could make no impreſſion upon the quarters of the Heſſians or of the Earl of Crawford. Another party had gone to Sutherland, where the very advantage which they obtained turned out to the detriment and loſs of their cauſe.

Every perſon has heard of the notable ſcheme contrived and executed by Perth in perſon, for ſurprizing the Sutherland militia, and diſperſing the corps under the Earl of Loudon's command. For this purpoſe he got together about forty large boats, on board of which he put a body of 1500 men, draughted from the different diviſions of their grand army. By means of a thick fog he, on the 20th of March, ſet off from Burghhead, and croſſing the Firth, landed with the greater part below Dornoch, and ſent about 200 men to ſurprize the out-guard at the Kittle, three miles to the weſtward: the bulk of the militia was ſeized in a mo-

ment; only ſome few eſcaped, to be meſſengers of their own diſaſter: and the Earl of Loudon, being at the paſs of the Bonar, to obſerve Bariſdale, who was on the oppoſite ſide of the water, could give them no aſſiſtance. Sutherland fell into their hands, and a communication with the plentiful county of Caithneſs was now opened: the detachment ſent to the Kittle came to Dornoch, and ſpread deſolation, as they had done in Roſsſhire before. All were treated alike, provided they were for the Government. The clergy were viſited without diſtinction. Thoſe of Eaſtern Roſs were at that time, for the moſt part, truly amiable men: thoſe of Sutherland were not inferior in point of candour and other Chriſtian virtues: however no diſtinction was made; the amiable and endearing Mr. Kirk, miniſter of Dornoch, was treated more cruelly than Daniel Monro*, miniſter of Tain, though this laſt was an uncouth man, a monſter of impiety, wickedneſs, and ill-nature: the former had lodged the Earl of Loudon, and this was all his crime; they violently thruſt him down his own ſtairs, ſo that the innocent honeſt man was much bruiſed; and yet not one impatient word dropt from him.

However, vengeance purſued them; for, on leaving him and recollecting the generous openneſs of his comely and venerable countenance with the ſilver colour of his grey hairs, they quarrelled with each other, and from words came to blows, by which many of them were maimed: and indeed it is no wonder that their conſciences, however callous and obdurate, ſhould upbraid them for an inſult upon a gentleman by birth, more ſo by his education and prudence, and a favourite of Heaven,

* He was afterward turned out of his church for fighting, and other immoralities.

for his amiable and endearing deportment: a Nathaniel indeed in whom there was no guile: a truly good man; whom, from the frequent accounts given by the beſt of preceptors *, added to my own experience, I knew to be almoſt the beſt and moſt valuable of mankind; whether we conſider him as a gentleman, a miniſter, a parent, an huſband, or a friend.

While the enemy is ſpreading over Sutherland, and Lord Cromartie's ſon was riding into Caithneſs, where his ſucceſs in raiſing men was nothing, but where he took up a conſiderable quantity of meal for the Pretender's uſe, the Earl of Loudon retired to Strathnavern, where he had an immediate opportunity of doing a more ſubſtantial ſervice to the Government, than if he had continued undiſturbed in his camp.

For, on the 25th, the Prince Charles Snow had run aſhore, on the ſhallows near Tonge Bay, after an engagement of five hours with the Sheerneſs man of war. Her men and money were landed that night, and next morning they ſet out: however they had not gone far, when eighty-ſix of Lord Loudon's militia and about an hundred of Reay's men fired upon them from ſome eminences: ſix of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, and as many wounded; the remainder became diſheartened, and ſurrendered with the money and the arms they were carrying with them. They were conducted on board the Sheerneſs, whoſe Captain took poſſeſſion of the prize, in which were found fourteen cheſts of piſtols and ſabres, thirteen barrels of powder, beſides ammunition and military ſtores, with 12,500 guineas in caſh: all which, except the

* Mr. John Henderſon, maſter of the grammar ſchool of Nairn, a truly divine man, and who underſtood claſſical learning as well as any man in Europe.

caſh, were conducted to Stromneſs in Orkney, whither the Captain ſailed on the information received from the priſoners, who were about one hundred and twenty, including ſoldiers and ſailors, with twenty officers. At Stromneſs twelve ſhips were relieved, and a privateer of fourteen guns, that had laid an embargo upon them, was taken.

As the Pretender's party was now in poſſeſſion of the country, a viſit was expected by Lord Reay, who embarked with the treaſure and the priſoners: and, arriving at Aberdeen on the 6th of April, he gave ſuch an account to his Royal Highneſs, as intirely determined him to decamp, in order to give battle to the enemy before they ſhould be joined by the embarkations carrying on at Dunkirk, as he learnt from the priſoners, or by others who might be dazzled by the glittering appearance of his good fortune.

Every thing being got in readineſs, the army marched on the 8th of April, and, by the way of Old Meldrum and Bamff, arrived at Cullen upon the 11th, where he was joined by the Earl of Albemarle's battalions, and next day proceeded to the Spey. His Highneſs with General Huſke led the van, which conſiſted of fourteen companies of grenadiers, the Argyleſhire militia, and all the horſe, with two pieces of cannon, which were immediately planted upon a ground that commanded the ford over which the army was to croſs. As Lord John Drummond had not expected his Royal Highneſs at that time, ſo the batteries were not finiſhed, and the oppoſite ſhore was but ſlightly guarded; and ſuch as were there, fled off with precipitation on ſeeing Kingſton's horſe enter the water, and galloped off to Elgin with the news.

The van being come to the river, his Highneſs was the firſt to enter the water at the head of the horſe,

horſe, who forded it a little above Garmouth, while the grenadiers and Highlanders paſſed ſomewhat higher up: the infantry waded over as faſt as they arrived. And though the water was very cold and up to their middles, yet they went on with great chearfulneſs. Thus the whole got over, with no other loſs but that of one dragoon and four women, who were carried down by the ſtream.

The troops were cantoned that night on the banks of the Spey, and next day proceeded to Elgin, the party who had deſerted the Spey keeping at a proper diſtance before them. It was Sunday, and the people were juſt coming out of church: they crowded about the Duke with uncommon alacrity and gladneſs, pouring out their bleſſings upon him, and even reckoned themſelves happy if they could but kiſs his boot: he held out his hands to them in the moſt condeſcending and gracious manner, and with great affability aſked ſome women, as they thronged upon him, "Will you "give me a ſhare of your broſe *?" He was invited to ſtep into the town, and to take a little refreſhment; but he excuſed himſelf in the moſt princely manner, by telling them that he was a ſoldier, and upon his march. So truly amiable was his deportment, and ſo winning his behaviour, that the people could not but admire him. At a mile's diſtance the army halted and dined, the Duke's table being the head of a drum; from thence they marched to Alves, and next day ſet out for Nairn. The Duke on his way gave a ſingular inſtance of his humanity and real goodneſs of heart. About half a mile from Forreſs is the water of Findhorn, over which the troops were to paſs; in the middle thereof, one of the carriage horſes dropt down, and the waggon ſtuck faſt in the bed of

* From the Greek word βρωσις, meat.

the ſtream. Hawley came up immediately, and fell to laſhing the waggoner; the cracks of the whip ſounded in the ears of his Royal Highneſs; he turned about, clapped ſpurs to his horſe, rode into the water, and checked Hawley for his impatience: "Fye upon it, Hawley, to uſe any "perſon ſo, the man is my friend, and do you "not ſee that he is aſſiſting us;" ſo turning to the man he directed him to looſe the harneſs, and to free the horſe from his incumbrance: his orders were obeyed, and ſo without further trouble all was ſet right as before. Hawley became every day more hated, and his Highneſs increaſed in favour with the army, who looked upon him as their father, their deliverer, their ornament, and friend; that night they came to Nairn, within twelve miles of the enemy: Perth continued at the end of the bridge till Kingſton's horſe came within an hundred yards of him, and then galloped off at a full ſtretch, never halting till he was at Inverneſs, where the Pretender had but only the night before heard of the Duke having paſſed the Spey.

Next day being the anniverſary of his Highneſs's birth, the troops reſted; but by a particular order, they were not allowed to obſerve it otherwiſe, than that every private man had half a pint of rum and a biſcuit given him. Theſe were ſupplied from the tranſports which kept pace with them; however, in every other place, except where the Pretender prevailed, it was kept as a jubilee; in ſome towns the Adventurer was hanged in effigy, which, with a ſkirmiſh that happened at Golſpie in Sutherland, was an omen of the ſtunning blow, which next day he received.

The Earl of Cromartie and his ſon, with ſome officers, being at Dunrobin on a viſit to the Counteſs of Sutherland, who was in a different intereſt from

from her huſband, had the curioſity to ſee one Dr. Vanhoven perform ſome feats of activity: while his corps was marching to the Little Ferry, he was taken up with his diverſion; the ſervants of the family apprized a party of the Sutherland militia, who were at a ſmall diſtance from them. Poor Cromartie had in Lochroom iſſued forth the moſt horrid and execrable orders, ſuch as to hang men at their own doors, and burn their houſes, if they did not join the Pretender's ſtandard; and in this place ſeveral very cruel things were done inconſiſtent with humanity. The Macgregors and Bariſdale's corps were in the country, and there was little proviſion to be found; Cyderhall, the moſt elegant houſe in the ſhire, was burnt, and in it a granary of meal; the houſe of Kintredwell was alſo ſet on flames, as was another at Kilgour; incidents that could not fail to provoke.

During the time of his Lordſhip's diverſion, the militia got together, and contrived to ſurprize him; Bariſdale was on the other ſide of the ferry: he had none with him but the poor men whom he had forced from their own houſes, and who were poor inoffenſive innocents. Theſe marched in a body, and were near two miles from Dunrobin when his Lordſhip ſet out. As he came to the brook of Golſpie, a party of twenty-ſix men fired upon them from a church-yard; their horſes ſtartled, and directly returned; the party purſued them, but on coming to Dunrobin they found only ſhut doors; on which one Mackay deſired acceſs, and being told that every perſon who appeared in view was to be fired upon: "What!" ſays Mackay, "fire "upon one man;" a phraſe which he ſo frequently uttered, that the gate was opened, and he was let in. Accordingly he was carried up ſtairs to Cromartie, and inſiſted on his ſurrendering; ſo going

down again, he told the centry that his maſter had ſurrendered himſelf, and that it was needleſs to ſtand out any longer: he delivered up his arms and the keys, and ſome of his party coming up on a ſignal given, they were put in poſſeſſion of every thing. In the mean time thoſe who had marched forward were attacked and broken; they fled to the ferry, where they were made priſoners; Cromartie, with his ſon, Lieutenant-colonel Kendal in the Spaniſh ſervice, and nine other officers, were conducted in their boots to an iſland in Brora Water, and from thence were carried on board the Hound ſloop of war, which, on an expreſs concerning the event, had looſed from Cromartie, in order to take them in. All this time Bariſdale was marching toward the Bonar, in order to join the Chevalier, who now prepared for a ſtand.

From the flight of his men having intelligence of the Duke's approach, he called in his out-parties, and drew them up in the ſtreet of Inverneſs on the 14th, and then marched at their head to the Parks of Caſtle hill and Culloden, where they encamped that night, and next day drew up in order of battle upon Drumoſſie Muir, with their batteries placed to the right and left of them, and one of four pieces in the center; they were in high ſpirits, all hearty and well. Towards nine at night they diſcovered ſome uneaſineſs, to remove which the Pretender propoſed, in a council of war, to march forward, and ſurprize the Duke's camp in the night-time. Accordingly they ſet out about ten, in two columns; that on the right was conducted by himſelf, and that on the left by Perth; they marched in the moſt ſilent manner, orders being given for no man to ſpeak above his breath. By three in the morning the right column was within two miles of the Royaliſts, and could hear

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the centries call and anſwer to one another, "Is "all well?" "Yes, all is well." Here they halted upon a large heath for the ſecond column for half an hour, but the troops thereof had miſtaken their way; ſo that by the time they came in ſight, the morning dawn began to appear, and one of Kingſton's horſemen was obſerved by an out-party to gallop full ſpeed toward the camp; by which it was concluded that their arrival would ſoon be known. A dejection of ſpirit was now legible in their faces; and the Pretender was heard to ſay, "D——n it! Are my orders ſtill diſobeyed?" They turned about, the rear became the front, and ſo they returned and came up to their former ground about eight, and reſted upon their arms, to eaſe them from the fatigue they had gone through.

There is not a part in this whole expedition in which the truth is ſo hard to come at, as whether the Pretender did well or ill not to attack the Royaliſts in their camp. The fact is repreſented literally as it was; and from this we may ſafely conclude, that if the Pretender, who depended ſo much upon ſtratagem and ſurprize, came really in queſt of a coffin or a crown, it was not like a ſoldier to proceed without a full reſolution to engage before returning. The corn-fields about Nairn were not more advantageous to the Royal army than the common, whereon the action happened. The troops were not intrenched, and the dawn of the morning is known to be the fitteſt for ſtartling horſes. Charles XII. of Sweden, to whom his friends have ſo frequently compared him, would not have marched back without trying the fortune of war; nor yet would the Duke of Cumberland, notwithſtanding all the precautions that had been taken,

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For his Highneſs on the night before rode round the camp, and ſurveyed all the avenues leading thereto; the men were drawn up in order of battle, with the cannon in the front, and the horſe in the rear; three regiments were drawn up about his own quarters, which were in the houſe of Mr. Roſe of Kilravock, a gentleman of great humanity and good-nature, and a ſincere friend to the Government. Parties were appointed to patrole for three miles round, I mean from the water of Nairn to the Firth; by the firſt of which his Highneſs was ſecured on the left, and by the latter his rear was protected: as I know the ground, ſo I can ſpeak the better upon it. Several gentlemen have declared, that if the enemy had attacked, they would rather have been in a worſe ſituation than at Culloden. Be that as it will, certainly every poſſible method was taken to prevent a ſurprize, and his Highneſs not only viſited the parts, but ſpoke to the officers to encourage the private men; he rode along the lines with a chearful countenance, and ſaid: "My brave boys, we have but one march "more, and all our labour is at an end; ſit down "at your tent-doors, and be alert to take your "arms." He was anſwered with the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of loyalty, and retired to his lodging, where he ſupped with his general officers, and appeared exceeding chearful during the whole time. Several of the clergy crowded into the room, ſome to give intelligence, and others out of curioſity; but he deſired them to go home, and aſſiſt the troops with their prayers. This being over, he compoſed himſelf to reſt, but without taking off either his boots or his clothes, till about three in the morning, when getting up on his feet, he directly walked down ſtairs, and coming to the front was agreeably ſurprized to find the whole in battalia

talia and under arms, which had been done in about two minutes after the firſt alarm from one of the patroling parties. Without heſitating a moment, he ordered every ſoldier a glaſs of brandy, a biſcuit, and a little cheeſe, and ſo the army ſet out in four columns in purſuit of the enemy. The three lines of foot, each of five battalions, were broke into three from the right; the artillery followed the firſt, and the cavalry made the fourth upon the left; and though a ſtorm of hail drove full in their faces, yet ſtill they advanced. They had marched about eight miles before the enemy was perceived: forty of Kingſton's horſe and the Highlanders, led by the Quarter-maſter-general, had the firſt view of them at two miles diſtance, making a motion to the left of the army, who inſtantly turned their faces from the weſt in order to front them. In this poſition they continued ſome minutes, till obſerving thoſe whom they had eſpied to retire to their main body, they put themſelves in their former poſture, which they kept till within a mile of the enemy, where again they formed as before.

It was not till eleven o'clock when the two armies got a full view of each other, that the rebel chiefs entered ſeriouſly into a council. Lord George Murray, Lochiel, Roy Steuart, and almoſt all the chieftains were againſt fighting that day: however Boyer, the French ambaſſador, and the officers of the brigades inſiſted upon it. Stapleton even went ſo far as to ſay, that "the Scots were always good "troops till things came to a criſis." An expreſſion which fired them ſo much that Lochiel has declared oftner than once, "that he did not believe "there was an Highlander in the army who would "not have run up to the mouth of a cannon, in "order to confute the odious and undeſerved aſ-

"perſion."

"perſion." And in this temper of mind where they when the Duke was within a mile of them. Their cannon were fired, to let ſuch as had fallen aſleep know that the King's army was advancing: they were awakened by the noiſe; the Pretender galloped from the houſe of Culloden, as did the M. of Tullibardin, and the parties run in to their reſpective battalions.

Both armies were now ranged in order of battle: the Royaliſts (about 8500 men) extending from right to left were drawn up in two lines. The firſt was compoſed of the regiments of the Royal Scots, Cholmondley, Price, Royal North Britiſh Fuſiliers, Monro, and Barrel; the ſecond was made up of the regiments of Batterau, Blakeney, Howard (alias the Buffs) Fleming, Blyth, Semple, Ligonier and Wolf. There was a corps of reſerve, from whence the Duke ordered Pulteney's to the right of the Royal, the better to cover the enemy, who before this much outlined the troops: there was a moraſs on the right, which ſecured them from a ſurprize on that ſide, and the dragoons under Generals Hawley and Bland were, with 150 of the Highlanders, ordered to the left, in order to fall upon the right flank of the enemy; the other part of that corps being left to guard the baggage behind the whole.

The rebel army, conſiſting of 9000 men, ſtood formed in three lines; the firſt was compoſed of the Athole battalions headed by their reſpective Colonels; that of the Marquis of Tullibardin, Lord Nairn, Colonel Menzies, Robertſon of Blairfitty, and Steuart of Kainachan; next them ſtood the Camerons, Mackintoſhes, and Macdonalds: Lord George Murray commanded on the right, and Lord John Drummond on the left. Their ſecond line was made up of the Iriſh brigades, and

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ſeventy of Fitzjames's horſe, Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment, with thoſe of Perth, Roy Steuart, Glenbucket, Kilmarnock, Lord John Drummond, and Lord Ogilvie. The Pretender ſtood with a body of horſe behind the whole, almoſt oppoſite to the center, but without reach of muſket ſhot. Their lines were diſtant from each other about five hundred yards, whereas thoſe of the King's troops were not above fifty; the enemy's cannon was placed in three diviſions, conſiſting each of three pieces; that of the Duke, conſiſting of ten pieces, was planted in five diviſions, two being in each. Things being in this condition, his Royal Highneſs ordered them to advance, and riding along the lines in a very ſoldierly and comely manner, he called out to them: "My brave boys, your toil will ſoon "be at an end; ſtand your ground againſt the "broad ſword and target; parry the enemy in the "manner you have been directed *, be aſſured "of immediate aſſiſtance, and I promiſe you that "I ſhall not fail to make a report of your beha-"viour to the King; and in the mean time, if "any are unwilling to engage, pray let them ſpeak "freely, and with pleaſure they ſhall have their "diſcharge." Theſe words were uttered with ſuch earneſtneſs, and in ſo lively a manner, that one would have thought he had already conquered. The whole ſoldiers gave repeated declarations of their ſtanding by him, and ſo they advanced. The battle would have begun directly, but one Robert Frazer, the ſame who had been Secretary to Lord Lovat, by inſinuating himſelf with the corps of the artillery, led them a wrong way;

* They were taught to puſh over the right arm againſt the right breaſt of an antagoniſt, and mutually to defend each other, by puſhing againſt the man who was engaged with his right hand comrade.

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he conducted them up an hill, and over a marſhy ground, in which a wheel of one of the carriages was broken. His Highneſs, whoſe eyes were everywhere, ordered a workman to right it, and ſome more horſes to be yoked, in order to draw it through, and a tenant of Kilravock's ſtepping up, conducted them in the beſt and plaineſt road. The army was now within five hundred yards of the enemy, when the moraſs ended which covered their right; to remedy which, Kingſton's horſe and ſixty of Cobham's dragoons were ordered to ſupply that deficiency. The day was rainy, and the wind began to riſe from the north, and the army endeavoured to keep it on their backs, while Lord Bury, now Earl of Albemarle, was ſent forward with ſome few troops to reconnoitre what appeared ſomewhat like a battery. His Lordſhip went on, and their cannon began to play againſt him; but being ill ſerved and ill pointed, the balls flew over the heads of the whole, except the laſt rank, where a cannon bullet took a man full below the abdomen, and ſhot his body off almoſt by the ilion. The artillery of the King's army was better ſerved; Major Belford attended it there in perſon, and took care to level the guns ſo well, that they made lanes wherever they came. The Highlanders did not like the ſalutation; they came down three times within an hundred yards of the right wing, brandiſhing their ſwords, and firing their piſtols. The troops kneeled, to receive the fire, as they were directed, the firſt rank bending on their knee, the ſecond ſtooping, and the third ſtanding upright; the two laſt were to fire, but not till the enemy was within thirty yards, and the firſt was to receive them with their fire, and on the point of their bayonets. Lord John Drummond did all in his power to decoy the Royaliſts to give their fire at a diſtance,

a diſtance, that his wing might come in ſword in hand; he even walked between the lines with his pike in his hand. The Duke of Cumberland ſaw into the extent of his deſign, and was not to be provoked into an unſoldier-like action; in ſhort, the two continued to front each other in this alarming poſture, and in the mean while the right wing of the enemy and the left of the King's were cloſely engaged; for in a ſtooping poſture, covering their head and breaſts with their targets, the Athole battalions, the regiment of Mackintoſhes and the Camerons, run ſwiftly upon the cannon, making a dreadful huzza, and even crying out, "Run ye "dogs:" they broke in between the grenadiers of Barrel and Monro; but theſe had given their fire according to the general direction, and then parried them with their ſcrewed bayonets: the two cannons on that diviſion were ſo well ſerved, that when within two yards of theſe they received a full diſcharge of cartridge ſhot, which made a dreadful havock; and thoſe who crowded into the opening received a full fire from the center of Bligh's regiment, which ſtill increaſed the number of the ſlain: however, ſuch as ſurvived poſſeſſed themſelves of the cannon, and attacked the regiments ſword in hand; but to their aſtoniſhment they found an obſtinate reſiſtance. His Highneſs being on the right, ſaw them the moment they moved to break in, and ordered the regiments of Wolfe and Fleming to wheel to the left of Barrel's, and attack them in flank, while thoſe of Bligh and Semple, brought up by General Huſke, poured in their ſhot upon the front of them. The enemy could not ſtand ſuch uncommon efforts, planned in the moſt judicious manner, and executed with all the intrepidity imaginable. The Pretender ſaw the Athole battalions advance, and ſent one of his aids de camp,

Colonel

Colonel Maclauchlan of Inchconnell, with orders to the left wing to wheel to the right, and ſupport the impreſſion that might be made, while the ſecond line was to move forward to ſupply their room. The orders were not delivered, for Maclauchlan's head was ſtruck off by a cannon ball, as he was galloping with them; ſo that the left retained its former poſture. The Duke ſaw it, and obſerving through a glaſs what was doing on the left, he cried out, "They run, They run! riſe up Pulte-"ney's and ſhoulder." His words were heard by Lord John Drummond, and ſuch as were near him; they looked about and ſaw the cataſtrophe: all at once they threw down their firelocks, and began to give way; on which the right wing advanced ſome paces, and gave their fire in ſo cloſe and ſo full a manner, that the ground was ſoon covered with the bodies of the dead and wounded, and the cannon being again loaded, theſe fired into the midſt of the fugitives, and made a frightful carnage. In the mean time the dragoons and Argyleſhire Highlanders, under the Generals Hawley and Bland, began to break down a dyke to the right of the enemy, who were now flying off in the greateſt confuſion; and as at their coming on they received a ſalvo from two pieces of cannon, ſo at their going off they had a like ſalutation from other two that were brought up to bear upon them. The dragoons rode in among the fugitives, and hacked them terribly with their broad ſwords; ſome had their brains beat out by the horſes, ſo that only few of that wing eſcaped to the other ſide of the Nairn, where it was not practicable to purſue them. There was buſineſs for the dragoons and Kingſton's horſe on another quarter; they had already met together in the very center of the ground where the rebels had ſtood, and from thence

they

they ſeparated into ſmall parties in purſuit of the unhappy people now flying for their lives. Many of theſe advanced five miles into the country before they returned; ſuch as took the road to Inverneſs were more fortunate than thoſe who fled between that water and the Nairn, and yet many of theſe were killed and wounded: in a word, the rout was total, the victory complete. About fifteen hundred were killed upon the ſpot, and as many in the purſuit; among whom the Viſcount of Strathallan, Col. Maclauchlan, with his Major, and moſt part of their officers; Colonel Macgillivray and Major Macbean of the regiment of Macintoſhes, with all their officers, and moſt of their private men; Colonel Maclean of Drimnin, with his Major, almoſt all his officers, and his two ſons. About one thouſand were wounded; among whom was Macdonald of Keppoch, who died ſome few days after, with Cameron of Lochiel, and almoſt all their officers; young Frazer of Inveralachy, a Lieutenant-Colonel; Hugh Frazer, Lord Lovat's Secretary; and many others too tedious here to mention. Brigadier Stapleton died of his wounds ſome few days after.

The young Pretender, having ſeen the flight of his men, ordered a houſe behind which he ſtood to be ſet on fire, and by means of the ſmoke he croſſed the Nairn, whither Perth, Lords Ogilvy and Pitſligo, Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord George Murray, with Lord John and Lewis Drummond repaired, with a conſiderable number of ſuch as had eſcaped. They all had ſwords, but few or none of them retained their firelocks: many of them were wounded, and their ears were dinned with the noiſe of the ſoldiers, who were toſſing up their hats in the air, and calling out, "Come "down ye dogs, and we will cut you in pieces."

They ſeemed to be much diſcouraged, and the Pretender himſelf was not the laſt to complain: "D—n the ſhipping," ſays he: "there's now no "more to be done." And ſo parting from his followers he, with ſome few horſe, repaired to the houſe of Frazer of Gortuleg, in Stratherrick, where Lord Lovat lodged. He was received by his aged partizan with open arms: and his Lordſhip excuſed his attendance on account of his infirmities and years. After this he went to bed, and next morning ſet out for Glengary, where he reſided for ſome time; but daily heard of the ſurrender of his troops, and the hardſhips that befel them.

Several officers of note were made priſoners: among whom the Earl of Kilmarnock; who, taking a party of dragoons for Fitzjames's horſe, ſeparated from the few that were with him, and came up to them. He was too near before he had diſcerned his miſtake; ſo that to return was impracticable: Lord Ancram knew him and ſaved his life, otherwiſe he would have been cut down. Their artillery, tents, and baggage were ſeized: Sir John Wedderburn, Colonel Farqhuarſon, Major Steuart, five captains, three enſigns, and ſix inferior officers, ſuch as ſurgeons and engineers, with nine hundred private men were taken alſo. And all this with very little loſs; there being only fifty killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded. Of the firſt was Captain Lord Robert Ker, of Barrel's regiment, and ſon to the Marquis of Lothian: his head was cut, by Major Macbean, from the crown thereof to the collar bone, and afterward he was hacked in pieces; Captain Campbell of Lord Loudon's regiment, Captain Campbell of the militia, and Captain Groſſet of Price's battalion: of the ſecond was Lieutenant-colonel Rich, whoſe right hand was cut off by the wriſt, and left almoſt

moſt cut through above the fingers; he had likewiſe a deep wound in the elbow: one captain, one lieutenant, and two enſigns of Barrel's were wounded alſo; one captain of Price's, one lieutenant of Bligh's, one captain, two lieutenants, and two enſigns of Monro's, one captain of Ligonier's, and one captain of Batterau's. The cavalry ſuffered but little; having only received ſome random ſhot from the more obſtinate, who at times turned about upon them: Kingſton's horſe had but two killed and one wounded. Howard's, Cholmondley's, and Batterau's loſt but two or three, and Pultney's none. Bligh's ſuſtained ſome ſmall loſs by firing of piſtols, and from ſome of thoſe who run in among them: Semple's, who relieved Barrel's, had a ſmall damage alſo.

In the mean time the Duke was improving his victory: he rode along the lines, and in a very princely manner heartily thanked them for their good behaviour, which he promiſed to repreſent to the King. This done he ordered each man a glaſs of brandy and a biſcuit, and, after receiving the compliments of the nobility, &c. upon his ſucceſs, he purſued his way to Inverneſs at the head of his troops. They advanced huzzaing, and were anſwered by three rounds of the great guns from the ſhips in the road, who denounced to the people on the oppoſite ſhore the account of the event.

His Highneſs entered Inverneſs at the head of the dragoons, all beſpattered with dirt, covered with duſt and with ſweat, and his ſword in his hand. The bells were ſet a ringing, and the people gave the ſignal to huzza; but he moved his hand to give over, and calling for the keys of the priſon ordered the doors to be ſet open and the priſoners to be brought forth: liberty was the firſt fruit of his conqueſt: and as the confined men came

down ſtairs he clapped them upon the ſhoulder, ſaying, "Brother ſoldiers, you are free:' ordered an entertainment for them, and payment of all their arrears. About four o'clock the whole army came in: they advanced huzzaing, and ſeemed to be prodigiouſly pleaſed: and what tended to heighten the ſatisfaction was, that from the time of his entering Inverneſs, priſoners were either brought to him in troops, or elſe ſubmitted themſelves. Scarce was he two hours in town when ſix French officers, who had not been in the battle, wrote a letter to General Bland, ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war.

Such was the Battle of Culloden, which the enemies of the Government have ſo cruelly repreſented, to the ſhame and reproach of the illuſtrious Leader, who, under God, was the chief inſtrument of the victory. The whole account given of it by Tobias Smollet is one continued miſrepreſentation. Had the Duke of Cumberland been a favourite with Tobias, he would not have uſed him ſo ill: for I am told, that T-----s, when a friend, is far from being bad; but, if an enemy, his very tender mercies are cruel. For my part, I never ſpoke with him, and perhaps never will: though I muſt own, that from the tenor of his writings, and his account of Culloden field, this character of him ſeems to be a juſt one. "The glory of the victory was" [*not*] "ſullied by the barbarity of the ſoldiers," as he ſays: not one of them was allowed to ſtoop until all was over, and the dead had been ſtripped. The ſoldiers, though provoked by a ſevere winter campaign, which would even have irritated Tobias himſelf, were *not* wrought up "to the moſt ſavage "thirſt of revenge:" they did *not* traverſe the "field after the battle," and "maſſacre thoſe miſerable wretches who lay maimed and expiring:"

and

and yet many of theſe, who had been torn to pieces by the grape ſhot, would have been glad to be put out of pain: *nor yet did* " ſome officers act a part " in this cruel ſcene of aſſaſſination, the triumph " of low illiberal minds, uninſpired by ſentiment, " untinctured by humanity:" *nor yet were* " a great " number of people, who, from motives of curi- " oſity, had come to ſee the battle, ſacrificed to " the undiſtinguiſhed vengeance of the victors *: " the vanquiſhed Adventurer" *neither* " forded the " Neſs," *nor did* " he retire to the Aird." He fled to a place of greater ſafety. " Detachments" *were not* " ſent out on all hands to hunt down the fugi- " tives, and lay waſte the country with fire and " ſword." 'Tis true, the houſes, *not* " the caſtles " of Lochiel and Glengary," both of which I have ſeen, " were burnt down;" but it is equally true, that " every houſe, hut, or habitation," *did not* " meet with the ſame fate without diſtinction. The " inhabitants" *were not* " ſhot upon the mountains " like wild beaſts †," *nor* " put to death in cold " blood, without form of trial." *Neither were* " the women, after having ſeen their huſbands and " fathers murdered, ſubjected to brutal violation, " and then turned out naked with their children " to ſtarve on the barren heaths." *No* " one fa- " mily was incloſed in a barn, and conſumed to " aſhes. Thoſe miniſters of vengeance" *were not* " ſo alert in the execution of their office, that in " a few days, there was neither houſe, cottage,

* The Doctor did not inform his readers, that the Rev. Mr. Macbean, father to Colonel Macbean of the artillery, now at Woolwich, had a moſt narrow eſcape for his life: as one of the flying Highlanders lifted up his ſword to cut him down; but happily a by-ſtander warded off the blow.

† Perhaps he means Captain Monro of Culcairn, a man well attached to the Government, for want of other inſtances! or three of the Old Buffs, who were ſhot as patroling between Fort William and Fort Auguſtus!

" man, nor beaſt to be ſeen within the compaſs of " fifty miles." *Nor yet was* " all ruin, ſilence, " and deſolation."

I have enquired into all theſe things, and find, that on the day of the battle only actual rebels were moleſted: there was not a houſe burnt, notwithſtanding the field of battle was almoſt ſurrounded with thoſe of the Macintoſhes, who formed one of the regiments which broke in upon the left wing of the Royal army, except one which was ſet on fire, to cover the Pretender's flight. One Noble, a weaver, in Failie, at the diſtance of five miles from Culloden field, met with an accident: for, alarmed with the noiſe, he had the curioſity to look out, and one of the fugitives, being juſt at his door, running from two of Kingſton's horſemen, theſe fired; the balls miſſed the perſon at whom they were aimed, and one of them ſtruck Noble in the forehead, ſo that he died directly. I hope Dr. Smollet will not conſtrue this accident as the effect of forethought, cruelty, malice, and antipathy, by which the curſe of the neceſſitous may cry againſt one who wickedly, baſely, and diabolically contrives, by the venom of his quill, to wound the poor in his family and reputation, and take away the bread from helpleſs children.

However, the ſiniſtrous repreſentations againſt his Royal Highneſs aroſe from the frequent executions that followed the deciſive action. Among the number of priſoners were many who had deſerted the King's ſervice: Roy Steuart's regiment was formed moſtly of theſe, after the battle of Preſtonpans: and, if liſting with the Pretender was a fault, certainly many of theſe were culpable. Three-fourths of Lord Elcho's regiments, of Perth's battallion, and of Kilmarnock's corps were from theſe deſerters. Roy Steuart, who had the Pretender's

cauſe

cauſe more at heart than any other, came to Saint Anne's yards, behind Holyrood-houſe, and while a prodigious number of people were walking for curioſity, he ſpoke to about fourteen of Hamilton's dragoons, and of Major Bowles's troop, as they were deſirous to enliſt in his regiment. "Gentle-"men," ſaid Roy, "you certainly know the buſi-"neſs we are upon: there is no force or compul-"ſion upon you: pray lay your hands to your "heart. If you join us, you ſhall be well paid; "but if you endeavour to deceive us, you can ex-"pect no mercy if ever you ſhould fall into our "hands." They inſiſted to be received, and he inſiſted on their digeſting the matter before they were ſworn. At the very time when Roy was dealing thus with them, a ſerjeant gave out, that he was ſick, and deſired to be excuſed—Roy was ſo far from being angry, that he ordered him to be taken care of with the other priſoners: he retired, but took notes of all that had paſſed. Theſe very men were taken in arms with the rebels: and the ſerjeant, being with the Royal army, ſwore in theſe terms before the court-martial. Indeed the fact could have been proved by many witneſſes; but the ſerjeant's teſtimony hanged them all. They were executed on the common gallows, where two deſerters from the Pretender had been hanged ſome few days before. They were all hung up in one morning, and the executioner ſtripping them naked, they were ſuffered to continue expoſed for three days. Others were ſerved in the ſame manner; among whom one Niman Dunbar, who had deſerted from the regiment of guards: and, as he was a native of the adjacent county, the thing made the greater noiſe. What pity that the minutes of the court-martial had not been publiſhed: in that event the conduct of the generals would not have been

ſo much blamed, and that of his Royal Highneſs would have ſhone with luſtre. Hawley was indeed enraged at the unhappy priſoners: five of whom had taken ſanctuary at a place called Petty, about a mile from the field of battle. The evidence for the crown, that had taken away the lives of the firſt fourteen, likewiſe deſtroyed theſe five. Hawley ordered twelve dragoons to put them to death in the place where they were: theſe juſt came at the time when Shaw, the miniſter, was going up to ſee them: they were taken out, ſet againſt a wall, and ſhot to death, without further ceremony.

When his Highneſs came to hear of theſe frequent executions, he interpoſed his authority, and commanded that a report ſhould be made to him before executing the ſentence: among others one Gordon, who had been a ſoldier in the third regiment of guards, was brought to his trial, as being an officer in the rebel army. The Duke himſelf ſpoke to him: and when his Highneſs was told, that he (Gordon) had been ill uſed by his ſuperior officers—that three times another perſon was made a ſerjeant when the place properly belonged to him—the excuſe was admitted: the man was received back to his own regiment, and is ſtill alive. The clergymen both in Stratherrick and in the Aird, poſſeſſed by the Frazers, nine hundred of whom were in arms againſt the Government, declared to me, that in obedience to the command of his Highneſs, they intimated from their pulpits, that all perſons ſhould be pardoned upon ſurrendering themſelves to them: that the people gladly came in, had certificates of their ſurrender given them, and theſe were always ſuſtained. In theſe diſtricts not one houſe was burnt, except Caſtle Downie, the ſeat of the family of Lovat. I had the ſame account from the clergy of Abertarff; in which there was ſcarce a houſe

a houſe burnt, except that of Glengary itſelf: which indeed was a pity, as it was a handſome building, and beautifully ſituated upon the ſide of a lake, out of which both ſalmon and trout might have been caught from any of the windows by a line. In Lochaber the houſe of Achnacarrie, belonging to Lochiel, and that of Keppoch Macdonald were alſo ſet in flames; but all more by the militia than by the regular forces.

It is a very diſagreeable taſk to balance an account of burnings and plunderings between the Pretender's party and the regular troops; and yet we have in ſome meaſure drawn it out. The former was debtor, to the burning of the village of Liſmahagoe, the beautiful and ſtately fabric of St. Ninian's church, the village of Inverlochy, and the houſes in Sutherland before-mentioned: they likewiſe had been debtor, to burning the houſe of Balnagown, the place which gave title to the illuſtrious Lieutenant-general Charles Roſs, had not Lochiel ordered the fuel, which was piled up to ſet it on fire, to be carried off, juſt at the time when it was about to be kindled up. The reader may depend upon what is here ſaid to be true. I wiſh ſincerely that Smollet may ſeriouſly reflect upon his own conduct in many other things, beſide the cruel, the falſe, and the daring aſperſions thrown out, in ſtudied terms, upon the illuſtrious Son of our King; whoſe diſpoſition to humanity, and whoſe real goodneſs of heart, ſhone every day with more tranſcendent luſtre.

His Highneſs, on the fourth day following Culloden battle, had the curioſity to dreſs himſelf like an ordinary officer, and to walk toward the Caſtle-hill. When juſt paſt this place, he obſerved a man quite penſive and ſolitary, and, making toward him, began to converſe about the ſtate of the

town

town before the arrival of the army. The man told him; "that he was a native of the place; that "his houſe was below yonder hill (pointing to it); "that he had the honour to bear the King's com- "miſſion, as you my dear young man do: I was "gunner of that caſtle which lies in rubbiſh, and "which was once an ornament to theſe parts; the "force to reduce it was nothing at all; the officers "in the garriſon propoſed to ſally out upon the "beſiegers, and both Lieutenant Graham and I "laid down a method to undermine them, if they "proceeded to a ſap. All was in vain; the go- "vernor was againſt every thing; his brother vaſ- "ſals (the Grants) had embraced a neutrality with "the enemy; he got very good terms for himſelf, "but the reſt of the garriſon, and I among others, "have been ſtript of our all." The dialogue continued for two hours; the young officer and the reduced gunner ſeemed to like each other extremely well: at laſt a lieutenant paſſed by, and knowing the officer, he came to him hat in hand, and begun his buſineſs with, "May it pleaſe your Royal High- "neſs." The reduced gunner was ſtruck with the expreſſion, and coming forward almoſt trembling, he in the moſt ſubmiſſive poſture begged pardon for not having treated his Highneſs as his dignity deſerved. "No, no!" replied his Highneſs, "My "little old man, you have treated me extremely "well; from this time you ſhall be put in your "uſual pay, and in the mean while I deſire you "may go to the Secretary's office, and tell them "from me, that you muſt have immediate pay- "ment of all your arrears." On which the two ſeparated, his Highneſs repairing to his lodging, and Mr. Thomſon the gunner, from whom I had the information, to the Secretary's office, as directed.

That

That very night the Duke remonſtrated with Hawley upon the impropriety of putting ſo many of the deſerters to death, and in the moſt ſympathizing manner inſinuated that men were not made to ſtarve: "You may," continued he, "try an "officer for ſurrendering up a fort, when under "no neceſſity to do it; but let not the blood of "the poor be ſpilt profuſely." His inſtructions were followed; Grant was arraigned before a court-martial, when the evidence was ſo ſtrong and full againſt him, that nothing but the interpoſition of his Highneſs could have mitigated the ſentence, to declare him unworthy of his Majeſty's ſervice ever after.

It was in conſequence of the converſation with Mr. Thomſon, that his Highneſs performed an act ſufficient to endear him to poſterity; and though it turned out to the detriment of Inverneſs, yet it became a ſingular advantage to the country.

From the earlieſt period in the records of Scotland, we find that a caſtle was always looked upon as abſolutely neceſſary at Inverneſs, and accordingly it continued upon one ſpot till the time of Oliver Cromwell, who blew up that fortification, and built another nearer the harbour, ſtill holding it as a maxim, that a fort muſt infallibly be there. At the reſtoration Cromwell's fort was razed to the ground, the old one was rebuilt, and continued to be augmented with many out-works and conveniencies at a vaſt expence to the government, till the 18th of March 1746, when Major Grant ſurrendered it into the hands of the young Chevalier, who ordered the works to be blown up.

The Duke of Cumberland ſaw what had been hid from ages; he expreſſed his ſurprize that a fort ſhould be built upon a ſpot commanding no paſs or navigable river, and in all reſpects void of the advantages

advantages that ought to conſtitute a fortification. He preferred the place which old Oliver had fixed upon; however, the magiſtrates would not diſpoſe of this ſmall parcel of ground* for leſs than 25,000 *l.* His Highneſs rode out with his engineers, and took a view of the coaſt; and getting the better of the falſe maxim, that a fort was abſolutely neceſſary at Inverneſs, he judged, and very truly, that if a fort was built near it, the ſame might be more for the King's ſervice. He had not rode above eight miles, when he came to a point of land called Arderſeir, which lies oppoſite to Roſemarkney in Roſsſhire: between theſe is a gut two miles over, which begins at the great ſea that ſpreads between Norway and the coaſt of Scotland, and propagates itſelf for twelve miles without making a ſafe or commodious harbour, except at Arderſeir, where the inlet begins. The proprietor of this obſcure place, Mr. Campbell of Calder, was more docile than the magiſtrates of Inverneſs; he made a preſent to his Royal Highneſs of that large piece of waſte ground, near the point, which ſcarcely yielded paſture for a few ſheep in the ſummer ſeaſon. All of a ſudden five hundred men were ſet to work; architects, maſons, ſmiths, joiners, and labourers were employed: and while the former were building the fortreſs, which owed its birth to his Royal Highneſs, who examined the plan thereof, the latter were occupied in cutting a canal from the ſea to the gut quite round it; ſo that the fortreſs, which is a pentagon regularly flanked and ſtrengthened by all kind of outworks, is a perfect iſland, defended by a deep wet ditch toward the country, and on the wings and front

* It ſcarcely contains two ſquare acres.

by

by the ſea, which laſt conſtitutes a harbour, where the largeſt ſhips in the world may lie with ſafety.

Without the ditch a large and populous village is built, and many conſiderable merchants have ſettled in it, for the conveniency of trade and commerce. A road has been cut from Perth to the fort, which is full thirty miles nearer than that known by the name of General Wade's road to Inverneſs; the whole country is enriched by it; the barracks can contain ſix thouſand men, and in its preſent ſituation, is as capable of holding out a ſiege as any one fortreſs in Europe.

What man alive could have thought about twenty years before, that the ſolitary place Arderſeir would have put on ſo gay and ſo brilliant an aſpect? Had a genius told the people in that neighbourhood of the wonderful change, they would, like Æneas in Elyſium, have been tranſported with the proſpect of what was to come; they would have been overjoyed to think that a beautiful ſtructure, nay, a town to be called for their Sovereign, ſhould rear its head at a place which had not ſo much as a name *.

He did not ſpend his time in exerciſing ſeverities for what was paſt; his aim was to confute the falſe calumnies and invectives raiſed againſt the crown, perſon, and dignity of his Royal father, by a moderation and lenity not to be found in ancient times, and ſcarce to be believed in times to come. I have been told by the clergymen in thoſe parts, that no ſooner was a certificate produced from any of them of a man's having ſurrendered himſelf, than he was at full liberty to carry in all manner of proviſion to the camp, and was paid in ready money for every ſingle article: for deſiring ſafety, not

* Hæc tum nomina erunt, ſunt jam ſine nomine terræ!

revenge,

revenge, he took nothing from his enemies, except the power of hurting; and even when theſe came to deliver up their arms, he accepted their ſubmiſſion with an air of ſympathy, which diſcovered rather a concern for their misfortune, than a triumph in their miſery: he received Lord Lewis Drummond, the French ambaſſador, and forty-nine other foreign officers, with great affability: he gave paſſports to the Pretender's ſervants, theſe being all French, and ſent off the French priſoners to the number of one hundred and ten, to be exchanged for an equal number of the Britiſh forces: he did not aſſume the power of trying any one of the rebels: he referred theſe to be tried by the laws of their country. Among others were the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, with the unfortunate Lord Balmerino, whoſe caſe is too ſingular not to be repreſented.

His Royal Highneſs having, the day after the battle of Culloden, iſſued out a proclamation for all ſuch as had been in arms to ſurrender themſelves to one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, or to a miniſter of the Church of Scotland, great numbers embraced the golden opportunity, and among others Lord Balmerino. He no ſooner heard of it, than he rode directly from Aggimore, and ſurrendered himſelf to Sir Ludovick Grant, at the caſtle of that name. Unluckily for his Lordſhip the Grants had embraced a neutrality, and his Highneſs, ever a greater enemy to the cunning of the fox, than the wrath of the lion *, diſcovered a kind of reſerve toward the generality of them; for when their chieftain came into Inverneſs attended by one hundred and ſeventy men of his own

* By this metaphor Cicero expreſſes the fraudulent practices of the crafty, and the reſolution of the courageous and brave. Cic. Offic. lib. 1.

and of different ſurnames, his Royal Highneſs, though walking by the ſide of the river, neither went to view them himſelf, nor did any of his officers go: however, Balmerino was received without informing of his voluntary ſurrender; his Lordſhip thought, that it would be more to his advantage to be ſpoken of by Grant than by him, ſo the favourable circumſtance was not named; and what was ſtill a greater infatuation, he did not ſo much as mention this in his defence, when he came to be tried.

It muſt be owned that Grant's conduct in other reſpects was prepoſterous; for the Grants of Glenmoriſton were through his miſtake led into a ſnare: they entered Inverneſs, and drew up in the ſame order as on the Muir of Culloden, armed cap-a-pee, to the number of three hundred; which the Duke obſerving, he walked up, aſking "What body of "men is there!" To which he was anſwered, "The "Grants of Glenmoriſton;" "To whom have "they ſurrendered," replied his Highneſs? "To "me," ſays Grant, "and to none in Britain would "they have ſubmitted, except to me." "No!" anſwered the Duke with a pauſe, "I will let them "know that they are the King's ſubjects, and "muſt likewiſe ſubmit to me;" and with theſe words he ordered a regiment to ſurround and diſarm them: they were directly embarked on board the tranſports, and were next day ſhipped off for Tilbury Fort, with a clergyman of their name. It is obſervable, that none of theſe were tried for their lives; ſome of them died on ſhip-board, and the remainder were tranſported to his Majeſty's colonies, where, like others who had been involved in the calamities of their country, they ſettled, and procured a more comfortable ſuſtenance than if they had remained at home.

Hiſtorical

Hiſtorical exactneſs, which is the brighteſt gem in annals, has obliged me to inſiſt more upon conduct of his Royal Highneſs, than otherwiſe I would have done, eſpecially as Smollet has repreſented "all to be ruin, ſilence, and deſolation, "within the compaſs of fifty miles," placing Fort Auguſtus in the center; and as his words are much ſtronger than I chuſe to inſert, I ſhall refer the reader to them *: however, I muſt remind him, that Inverneſs is juſt twenty four miles from Fort Auguſtus, and that not a ſingle ſtone in that town was miſplaced by any one in the King's army, notwithſtanding ſeveral of the rebels were inhabitants there. I could mention Nairn, Forreſs, Chanory, Roſemarkney, Ardmucknage, Dalquiny, Fort William, and Morvern, with many other places much nearer to Fort Auguſtus than fifty miles; but I do not chuſe to dwell upon the miſtakes of a man, who has ſo miſerably miſrepreſented the Deliverer of his country; neither is it fair to detract ſo much from the glory of a conqueſt obtained over the braveſt of men: men inured to victory, provoked to reſolution, and drawn up upon ground of their own chuſing: the unparalleled bravery of the Highlanders was not confined to the ſmall number of five hundred men, as a certain voluminous author would inſinuate †.

Then let the obſtinate look into the ocean while it is calm, and ſooner may they be able to raiſe tempeſts there, than to diſturb the univerſal joy that reigns in every Britiſh breaſt ſince the grand deciſion. Let the name of the hero be fixed upon every heart, and be remembered with a becoming gratitude; the hero who was the ſoul of the cauſe, who took the affair upon himſelf; and may mil-

* See Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol XI. p. 240.
† Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. XI. p. 236.

lions

lions yet unborn be ready upon every occaſion to expreſs their thankfulneſs to the God of heaven; for raiſing up ſo ſhining an inſtrument, when they read of the glorious event. The troops which, under the command of Hawley, were broken at Falkirk, intirely routed their conquerors at Culloden, when headed by the Duke of Cumberland.

Hark! what a burſt of joy
Intones the ecchoing air!
As if an angel from on high,
Had now diſcharg'd his care.
'Tis he! 'Tis he! the pride of fame,
William *return'd the ſhouts proclaim!*
William *with northern laurels crown'd,*
William *the hills and vales reſound!*
What numbers fled, what numbers fell,
Culloden's *glorious field may tell;*
Culloden's *field the muſe may fire,*
To ſing the ſon, and charm the ſire!

ODE, Oct. 30, 1746.

The End of the SEVENTH BOOK.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

BOOK VIII.

CONTENTS.

The Disarming the Highlanders,—the Motions of the King's Troops,—the Trial of the Rebel Lords,—and the Wanderings of the Pretender.

THE victory at Culloden gave birth to an inexpressible joy through the extensive dominions of the British empire; not only Europe and Africa, but the two Indies joined in the shout, and gave joyful acclamations. The night after the battle Lord Bury was dispatched with a letter to St. James's, and taking the opportunity of a ship to North Berwick, where he landed on the 21st, he hired horses for London, where he arrived in the morning of the 24th, and delivered his message to the King. The news was declared from the great guns in the Park and in the Tower, and these

theſe were anſwered by the ſhips in the harbour, and by vollies from the ſmall arms of the guards drawn up upon the parade. The bells rung inceſſantly tunes ſuitable to the occaſion, ſuch as Judas Maccabæus, or Britons ſtrike home. At night the bonfires and illuminations were general; and on the Sunday was the moſt brilliant Court that ever appeared on any other occaſion, every one taking a pride to pay their compliments. The Parliament was ſitting, and both Houſes congratulated their Sovereign upon the defeat of his enemies, and the heroic part which "his ſon, the "image of his virtues, had, in ſuppreſſing that "project, upon the ruin of which the conſtitution "was more firmly ſecured;" and without loſs of time conferred upon his Royal Highneſs the yearly ſum of 25,000*l.* in augmentation of the 15,000*l.* which he formerly enjoyed. They wrote him a congratulatory letter upon his glorious ſucceſs, to which they received a very princely and obliging anſwer. A run of addreſſes, like the waves of the ſea joſtling out each other, crowded about the throne from every quarter; the pulpits and theatres ſounded with the praiſes of our Deliverer; the ſtreets rang with his eulogium; the preſſes teemed with the recital of his virtues, and the news-papers were filled with his applauſe; the ſons of genius vied in his encomium; in Scotland his friends were ſo taken with him, that ſeveral children were baptized publicly in the churches by the name of CUMBERLAND WILLIAM, as a monument of their gratitude for the bleſſings they had received through his means; and to crown all, the King wrote him an anſwer with his own hand, in which were theſe very words: "I deſire you may give my hearty "thanks to the brave officers and ſoldiers, who "fought ſo glorioufly at the late battle; and aſſure

"them no leſs of my real eſteem, than of my "conſtant favour and protection." All which was directly obeyed: he read over the letter in the midſt of the ſoldiers, and on ending it, he renewed his hearty acknowledgments of their ſervices, and at departing ſaid; "You, gentlemen, have reſiſted "an attack, which I believe no troops upon earth "could have withſtood but yourſelves; the enemy "indeed fought like furies, and you, my fellow-"ſoldiers, have behaved like ſo many heroes." He never failed to acknowledge his ſenſe of ſervices done, whether by ſocieties, or by individuals; and with his own hand wrote a letter to the Church of Scotland, thanking them for their affection, loyalty, and zeal. His humanity went ſo far, that on hearing of the ſorrow which the poor priſoners, who had liſted for a piece of bread, daily ſuſtained, not ſo much for what they were to undergo, as on account of having miſſed the opportunity of fighting under ſo glorious a commander, he ordered the regiments to be recruited from them; ſo that of eleven hundred of theſe, only forty fell by the hands of the executioner: could the ſtrict and indiſpenſible rules of the martial law have been got over, they would all have been ſpared, in the ſame manner as the others, who had been involved with the Pretender.

Duncan Forbes, Lord Preſident of the Seſſion, and the Earl of Loudon, being returned, they adviſed to recruit the foot regiments from among the natives of the adjacent counties; a direction that was complied with, but no new companies were raiſed at that time, though ſoon after a full regiment under Lord Loudon was muſtered up; and to be ſtill more agreeable, none of the regular troops were ſuffered to enter into rebel diſtricts: that buſineſs was referred to the militia. Accordingly the Argyleſhire Highlanders were ſent into

into Lochaber, Moidart, and Ariſaig, and afterward into the iſles; their commander, General Campbell, a man of as great humanity and politeneſs as any officer in Europe, would put an hardſhip on no man: his officers breathed the ſentiments of their general: however, they could not hinder the people of Glengary from firing the houſe of their chieftain, from an apprehenſion that the troops were intent upon deſtruction. The ſame thing might be ſaid of the Camerons with regard to Achnacarrie, and of the other places which fell at that time; the people of Lochaber and Glencoe, of Keppoch and of Moidart, delivered up their arms, and continued in their own habitations, as did the clans ſcattered through the weſtern iſles; the Sutherland militia were ſent into the Aird, and the diſtrict of Strathglaſs, and the Grants into that poſſeſſed by the Macintoſhes; but with no orders either to plunder or to burn.

Unfortunately for ſome of thoſe, the people ſent in among them pretended that money was due from the proprietors, under colour of which, ſome of the Grants and Sutherland people ſeized the cattle upon the premiſes, and ſold them; ſome to the troops in the camp, and ſome to graziers, who haſtened to be rich.

Among the number of thoſe new graziers were ſome of theſe immoral clergymen, who, by the viciouſneſs of their lives, had brought religion into contempt, and opened the mouths of the diſaffected; theſe double dealers were of the names of Grant and of Monro, and among others was one Roſe Macinucater, miniſter of Nairn, a wretch of ſuch uncommon wickedneſs of heart, that ſuch a one ought never to have been born; one Alexander Shaw in Braemurray, who agreed to rear ſuch as Roſe had bought, through the winter, at the rate

of 2 *l.* 10 *s.* for every twenty cows, aſſured me that moſt of them died through change of food, and other inconveniencies, ſo that Roſe rather hurt than bettered his circumſtances; and to complete his ruin, he died farmer, grazier, adulterer, ſmuggler, and bankrupt, having left at his death debts behind him to the amount of 2500 *l.* and ſcarce ſeven farthings in the pound to diſcharge them. I hope this circumſtance will not be attributed to the Duke, or to any of the troops under his command; they had other buſineſs, as ſtragglers were daily coming in, among the number of whom were Hugh Frazer, one of Lord Lovat's ſecretaries, and Robert Frazer, the other amanuenſis. Sir James Kinloch and his brother were ſeized by the Heſſians, as was Ker of Graiden; the Marquis of Tullibardin, and Mechel the Pretender's valet, ſurrendered to Mr. Buchanan of Drumachail, who committed them to Dumbarton Caſtle, till an opportunity offered of tranſporting them to London, where the Marquis was confined to the Tower, and ſoon died of a flux, the effect of his winter campaign; others gave out that his death was not natural: Kilmarnock, Cromartie, and Balmerino, were likewiſe impriſoned there.

But the buſineſs of the greateſt moment was, an account that the moſt deſperate among the Highlanders had got a ſupply of money from France, and that they had reſolved to continue together; for on the 4th of May two French men of war had arrived off the coaſt of Ariſaig, and ſailed up Lock Nuay, not knowing the Pretender's diſaſter. About 35,000 Louiſdores were landed from theſe for the uſe of his troops; on this a meeting was held among the chieftains, at which Lord Lovat, Lochiel, and Secretary Murray were preſent: part of the money was diſtributed, though Murray retained the major

part.

part. Here it was agreed, that each chieftain ſhould raiſe what men he could, and keep in a body until they could receive proper terms from his Royal Highneſs. Accordingly they rendezvouſed at the head of Lochargeg, where they continued till the 29th of May, when the Duke's army advancing by the road, the ſcouts brought in ſuch an account of their ſtrength and alertneſs, as determined them to diſperſe, and every one to do the beſt he could for himſelf.

Being come to Fort Auguſtus, he expreſſed ſome concern at ſeeing ſuch vaſt tracts of uncultivated ground, and at the blindneſs of thoſe who had blown up the beautiful and commodious barracks that had ſo lately been an ornament to that unfortunate diſtrict. From this he marched to Fort William; where not only Mr. Scot, the governor, but every private man in the garriſon had the honour to kiſs his hand, and to receive his thanks for the gallant defence they had made. He had not been long in Lochaber when Lord Lovat was taken, being diſcovered by the very perſons to whom he had given bread. His Lordſhip was confined on board the Furnace, and from thence was eſcorted by a Party of dragoons by the way of Edinburgh and Newcaſtle to London, where he was confined to the Tower: ſo that this primum mobile of the rebellion being now in the Government's power, and fifteen of the Pretender's ſtandards, taken at Culloden, being burnt on the 5th of June by the common hangman, his Highneſs thought all was ſafe, and ſet out on the 20th of July for London, where he arrived in ſix days, to the univerſal joy of all who ſaw him. In his way he honoured Lord Breadalbane with a viſit, and ſtaid with him a night at Taymouth. The ſecond night he lodged at Stirling; and on the next day dined at New

Leſton, the ſeat of the Earl of Stair; where he was magnificently and nobly entertained. He declined all public acknowledgements; but only received the freedom of ſome places, as of Edinburgh and Newcaſtle, in gold boxes.

All this time the Parliament was examining into the riſe of the late troubles, and on the 8th of June attainted of high treaſon forty-ſix different perſons*: appointing them to be proſecuted, unleſs before the 12th of July they ſhould ſurrender themſelves. None of theſe ſuffered; they having either eſcaped or complied. Among the latter was Secretary Murray, who, thinking to make a merit of bearing teſtimony againſt Lord Lovat, proffered his ſervice, to the Lord Juſtice Clerk for Scotland. His propoſal was accepted, and he apprehended by a party of dragoons, who, on the 28th of June, conducted him to Edinburgh, whence he was carried to London; and appearing in the Court of King's Bench in Weſtminſter-hall, he pleaded, that he had diſſolved the force of the bill of attainder, by ſurrendering to a proper officer. The Attorney-general admitted the fact, and the Court having a power, by virtue of a writ of Certiorari to them directed from the Court of Chancery, they made a record of the ſame.

Upon the 20th of July the Judges ſat at Saint Margaret's Hill, where Colonel Townley, Coun-

* Perth, the Earl of Kelly, the Viſcount of Strathallan and his Son, the Viſcount of Dundee, Lords Elcho, Nairn, Ogilvy, Lord George Murray, John Drummond, and Lewis Gordon, the Maſter of Lovat; Mercer of Aldie, Sir William Gordon of Park, John Murray of Broughton, ſecretary; Glenbucket, Lochiel junior, and his brother Dr. Cameron; Camerons of Torcaſtle and Dungallan, Clanranald junior, Keppoch, Bariſdale, Glencoe, Cluny, Maclauchlan, Mackinnon, Ardſheil, Gaſk ſenior and junior, young Carnwarth, and Airth, Roy Stewart, Farquharſon of Monaltry, Drumnaglaſh, &c.

ſeller,

ſellor Morgan, Andrew Blood, and other officers of the Mancheſter regiment appeared before them. The trials of the three laſt were but ſhort, and as Townley's defence of being in the French ſervice was unanimouſly over-ruled, they were all condemned to die; and on the 31ſt were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Kennington Common.

Some of the principal Scots Gentlemen were tried there likewiſe, as Sir John Wedderburn, Hamilton governor of Carliſle, Sir James Kenloch, and his brother Mr. Alexander. The caſe of theſe two laſt is too ſingular to be paſſed over.

Theſe two Gentlemen had been arraigned before the ordinary Jury; but as the trial promiſed to be long, and the Court was weary, it was put off till next Day; when the twelve Judges of England ſat upon the indictment, and another jury was called, the former being diſcharged. The counſel for the priſoners moved againſt the legality of arraigning them before any other jury than that which at firſt was charged with them; and that by Magna Charta no man was to be arraigned before ſeparate juries upon the ſame fact. After many arguments pro and con the Judges gave their opinion: and Mr. Juſtice Wright differed from the whole: for his judgment was, that no other jury had a power to try the priſoners, except that before whom they were firſt called: ſo that they were tried, caſt, and condemned; but it was thought prudent not to execute the ſentence.

The counſel for the crown were Sir Dudley Rider, Mr. Murray (now Lord Mansfield) Sir John Strange, and Mr. Yorke (now Attorney-general.) The witneſſes were wretches guilty of the crime of rebellion. The counſel for the priſoners offered to prove ſome of them to be the moſt flagitious of mortals:

mortals: but in this they were anſwered by a queſtion put by Sir John Strange: "Was there," ſaid he, "a man of probity or honour in the rebel-"lion?" To which an anſwer was a matter of delicacy, and ſo he received no reply. However, the queſtion might have been anſwered, with great truth, That above a thouſand people of real probity and worth were in that rebellion; but that they had done miſchief ignorantly, not knowing the Engliſh tongue, even in the Scots dialect.

On the 1ſt of September the aſſizes began at Carliſle, when three lawyers went from Edinburgh to plead the cauſe of the priſoners: but their defence, "That accomplices could not be admitted wit-"neſſes in the caſe of treaſon," being ſoon overruled, the trials were far from being tedious; the return, Guilty, was made in a moment. The gentlemen of the jury were of the militia that had been ſtationed at Carliſle, when the Pretender came there; ſo that neither the tenderneſs nor advice of the Judges could reſtrain their havock. Here, of one hundred and five, thirty ſuffered, five were acquitted, and ſeventy were pardoned. Hence they went to York, where the jury acted with great candour and humanity: but here, as at Carliſle, the evidence was irreſiſtible. Among others came on the trial of two Frenchmen, whoſe defence was, "That in the nature of things they could not be "conſtrued traitors to his Majeſty King George, as "being foreigners, and had never ſworn allegiance "to him." The plea of the one was ſuſtained; as he had come over with the Pretender's party in the heat of the rebellion: but that of the other was repelled; as a diſtinction was made, that though he owed the King of Great Britain no natural, yet a local allegiance was due, as the priſoner had come

over

over under the protection of the Dutch General, who landed with auxilaries in ſupport of his Majeſty: on this he was condemned; but, on his way to the gallows, a pardon was brought him. Here, of ſeventy-four priſoners, thirty-five were condemned, twenty-two of whom ſuffered by the hand of an Executioner, and fifteen were ſuffocated in the priſon, as they had ſet fire to the priſon door, in order to eſcape. In ſhort, only ſeventy-four were put to death by courſe of common law, for rebelling againſt a King who had ruled eighteen years according to law*. Whereas ſix hundred were put to death anno 1685, for taking arms againſt King James II. or VII. who in five months had violated the firſt principles of Magna Charta.

But a greater trial than any of theſe was that of the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty, with Lord Balmerino, before the Houſe of Peers, an indictment being found againſt them by the Surrey jury. The two Earls pleaded Guilty; but his Lordſhip denied the charge, on a falſe apprehenſion, that no jury could find a bill of indictment, unleſs it was compoſed of men in-dwellers in the county where the crime was charged to have been committed; and that the time of his guilt was not properly ſpecified, he having been twelve miles from Carliſle at the time when he was charged to have been there. Both his defences were over-ruled, and the witneſſes ſwore point blank againſt him. On this they were condemned to die: but before ſentence was pronounced, Kilmarnock, with great propriety of accent, ſet off by the elegance of his perſon, which might have adorned any aſſembly,

* Several were ſpared through the interceſſion of the Duke of Cumberland; and perhaps more had ſhared of the Royal mercy, had not the Dutch ambaſſador in France wrote a ſneering letter to the Duke of Newcaſtle in favour of them.

urged

urged the loyalty of his anceſtors, their behaviour at the revolution, and ſince that period: he appealed to the conduct of his father in the year 1715, at which time he himſelf bore arms for the Government: he mentioned the behaviour of his ſon, who bore his Majeſty's commiſſion, and on Culloden field had behaved as became him: he told them, he abhorred the thoughts of being pardoned thro' the influence of a foreign Court; that he was far from being conſiderable among the rebels, and had no ſhare in any of their barbarities: and ſo concluded with recommending himſelf to his Majeſty's compaſſion, and their Lordſhips ſympathy.

The Earl of Cromartie's arguments flowed from his own perſonal diſtreſſes: he told their Lordſhips, that he had involved an affectionate wife, and with her an unborn infant, his eldeſt ſon, and eight other innocent children, who muſt feel their parents puniſhment before they knew his guilt: "Let them, "my Lords, be pledges to his Majeſty: let them "be pledges to your Lordſhips, let them be pledges "to my country for mercy; let the ſilent eloquence "of their grief and tears, let the powerful lan-"guage of innocent nature, ſupply my want of "eloquence and perſuaſion:—let my remorſe for "my guilt as a ſubject, let the ſorrows of my heart "as an huſband, let the anguiſh of my mind as a "father, ſpeak the reſt of my miſery! Your Lord-"ſhips are men, you feel as men; but may none "of you ever ſuffer the ſmalleſt part of what I "ſuffer." This being over, the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, then Lord High Steward, before paſſing ſentence, made a ſpeech, in which, after pointing out the heinouſneſs of the crime of rebellion, eſpecially againſt a King famous through the world for his mild and eaſy government, he told them, "that the death of every perſon, who fell during

"the

" the troubles, was a murder; that the many " murders of the innocent ſoldiers were rather " chargeable upon the chiefs the principal, than " upon their inferiors and followers, though the " inſtrumental cauſe; and that the deaths of the " criminals, whom juſtice had overtaken, were " only to be aſcribed to thoſe who had involved " them in the deſperate cauſe."

As it was foreſeen that interceſſion would be made, it was reſolved in council that two of the three ſhould die, the cries for juſtice being loud and piercing: the intereſt for the Earls was great, while that for Balmerino was nothing at all; which the King obſerving, he ſaid: " Many apply for " Kilmarnock and Cromartie, but none for Bal- " merino; I believe him to be the honeſteſt man " of the whole, and muſt do ſomething for him " myſelf;" which he certainly would have done, had he not laid it down as a maxim never to thwart his Privy Council.

The opinion without doors was, that Kilmarnock's intereſt would have prevailed in conſideration of his anceſtors, and the fidelity of his ſon: add to this, that Lady Charlotte Hamilton, daughter to the Duke who was killed in Hyde Park, was inceſſant for his Lordſhip: the fate of the two Earls hung in equilibrio, till the diligence of the Counteſs of Cromartie turned the ſcale in favour of her Lord.

That Lady being then with child, went almoſt to all the nobility and gentry about Court, and at laſt to the Princeſs of Wales; and getting ready acceſs, ſhe fell upon her knees, begging, " that " her Highneſs would have mercy on her, and on " her five children" (pointing to them) " and " intercede for her unfortunate Lord." " Wait " there," replied her Highneſs, " and I ſhall ſoon " bring

"bring you an anſwer;" ſo withdrawing a few moments, ſhe returned with her five children, the eldeſt of whom (the Princeſs of Brunſwick) was juſt turned of nine years, and ſetting them before her, ſaid, "Pray, Madam, what compaſſion had "your Lord upon my five children and me? It "is true, I am not now in your caſe, but then I "was; and God knows what would have come "of them, or of me, had your huſband's ſcheme "taken place! however, I ſhall intercede with his "Majeſty for him:" which that very night ſhe endeavoured to do.

Not contented with this, Lady Cromartie went to Kenſington, and at the time of his Majeſty's going to chapel, preſented a petition to him: he juſt took it out of her hand, when ſhe fell backward and fainted away; which the King obſerving only with the laſt glance of his eye, he ordered her to be taken up, and with his uſual ſedateneſs ſaid, "I ſhall conſider her caſe;" which he accordingly did, and next morning ſigned a reprieve for ninety-nine years. This determined the fate of the other two, who ſuffered on the 18th of Auguſt. At going out of the Tower-gate, and hearing the Ordinary ſay, "God ſave King George," Kilmarnock bowed very reverently; whereas Balmerino taking off his hat, and waving it, cried, "God ſave King J——s, and all his Royal fa-"mily." From the time that the Earl quitted the gate he attracted the eyes of all the ſpectators, being about ſix foot high, cloathed in black, with a bag appended to his hair, and walking in the moſt decent, ſerious, and majeſtic manner; he was attended by Mr. Foſter, a diſſenting clergyman, a gentleman of real goodneſs of heart, and endowed with the moſt extenſive good-will to mankind: he had been at great pains both to bring

his Lordſhip to a ſenſe of his ſin, and to be reconciled to the change he was to undergo. Happening to be in the Tower when the warrant came for execution, he contrived to let his Lordſhip know it in a manner the leaſt likely to create a ſurprize: he introduced a diſcourſe with General Williamſon concerning death, which continuing ſome minutes, his Lordſhip ſaid, "Is the dead warrant arrived?" Being anſwered in the affirmative, Mr. Foſter very properly replied, "We are all under ſentence of death;" and entering upon a ſerious converſation, his Lordſhip became quite calm and ſerene.

Never did two unfortunate noblemen go to a block more different from each other than Balmerino and Kilmarnock, as will appear by the following little incident: the former deſired to ſpeak with the latter, which was granted; and then his Lordſhip aſked, if he knew any thing of an order given by the P—— on the morning of the battle of Culloden, "to give no quarter to the Elector's "troops on any account whatſoever." To this Kilmarnock replied, "that he had heard of ſuch "an order ſince that time, but as to himſelf he "knew nothing of it." From this the former inferred, that no ſuch order ever had exiſted, and the latter reaſoned that the concluſion was not fair, "ſince ſuch an order might have been given, tho' "unknown to me." "It is," ſaid Balmerino, "only an invention to palliate their own murders!" Whether ſuch an order exiſted by itſelf is a queſtion; the Royaliſts roundly aſſert it; and I think it is ſubſtantially to be found in the Pretender's manifeſtoes *; and it is known that many in the Pretender's army declared, that the ſoldiers ſhould not meet with ſuch kind treatment as hitherto they had done.

* See page 124, line 7——14.

When

When Kilmarnock appeared on the ſcaffold, he drew ſighs from every heart, and tears from every eye; the executioner himſelf, tho' he had on him part of the cloaths in which Colonel Townley had ſuffered, ſhed tears, and fainted away, till revived by artificial ſpirits, when his Lordſhip ſpoke to him, and gave him five guineas; after which he ſubmitted to his fate, and the executioner ſevered his head from his body at one ſtroke, all but a ſmall bit of ſkin that covers the *obliquus inferior*.

Next came Balmerino, who hitherto was ſo obſcure, that on mounting the ſcaffold the crowd was at a loſs to know the criminal, till he began to prepare for the block: perhaps his chagrin aroſe from the faint impreſſion which his voluntary ſurrender had made upon the government: he did not conſider that the ſame was not properly known. But be that as it will, his deportment ſtartled the executioner, to whom he gave three guineas; for on taking the ax out of his hand, and thumbing it, he walked round a part of the ſtage moving it up and down in his hand, ſo that the very men attending the ſheriff became affrighted, and reproached Jack Ketch for his ſimplicity: however, no bad conſequence enſued, the ax was reſtored, when the terrified fellow did his buſineſs but poorly, not finiſhing it with leſs than three blows.

The next ſufferer was Mr. Charles Ratcliff, who, by a warrant from the King's Bench, was beheaded on Little Tower-hill for a treaſon committed about thirty years before: he had behaved inſolently to the Court, pleading his peerage, and the privilege of being a ſubject to the French King; for ſnatching the hand of one of the jury as theſe ſat upon the identity of his perſon, he ſaid, "Here is the "hand of a man among the loweſt claſs of me-

"chanics;

" chanics; Is this a proper perſon Mr. Lee * for " trying a peer?" But upon the ſcaffold, December the 9th, his deportment was every way compoſed and ſerene, and he died a Roman Catholic.

But the greateſt trial of all was that of Simon Lord Lovat, whoſe two Secretaries, with three others of the name of Fraſer, and John Murray of Broughton, appeared againſt him. One Chevis depoſed, " that his general diſcourſe for many " years had been in favour of the Pretender's per- " ſon and intereſt; that he had curſed the refor- " mation for introducing a falſe religion, and the " Revolution for involving Great Britain in an " immenſe load of debt; that he drank confuſion " to the Royal family under the maſked expreſſion " of, *The white horſe and all the generation of them*; " that his Lordſhip and Roy Steuart had diverted " themſelves with poetical compoſitions in Erſe, " of which they tried a tranſlation † ſufficiently " expreſſive of a real wickedneſs of heart." Murray had given up his letter to the Pretender, another to Lochiel, a third to himſelf, a fourth to the Marquis of Tullibardin, and two to his own ſon the Maſter of Lovat. Robert Fraſer ſwore to his writing theſe letters, and that they had been dictated word for word by his Lordſhip, produced duplicates of ſuch as had been worn or effaced, and gave in two letters received from the Maſter, one from the Pretender, with one ſigned by Lochiel, Cluny, and Murray, earneſtly praying he would throw off the maſk, and join openly; and at laſt Sir Everard Falkener ſwore to a letter received by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland. From theſe it appeared clearly, that he

* The Lord Chief Juſtice.

† When that Charley ſhall come o'er,
There ſhall be blood and blows in good ſtore.

had been the life and ſoul of the Pretender's cauſe for many years, the chief promoter of that rebellion ſo lately ſuppreſſed; and that he had ſent out his ſon with nine hundred Frazers into it. The ſpeech of Sir William Young at opening the indictment is among the moſt nervous to be met with upon this or any other occaſion: "When I "look to the priſoner at the bar, I am moved "with pity for his infirmities and years *:—but, "my Lords, had his ſcheme ſucceeded, ſuch of "your Lordſhips as had eſcaped with your lives, "when fighting for your religion and liberties, "would have been arraigned at that very bar be-"fore a body of mock peers, who would have "rejoiced in your ſufferings!" It is imagined, that if the Pretender had prevailed, Lovat would have been tried for high treaſon.

On finding him guilty, the Lord High Steward, before paſſing ſentence, made a ſpeech, in which he ſaid, that it had been happy for his Lordſhip, if the terrors of the law had retained him in his allegiance, when his oaths and his engagements were too weak ties to bind him: he obſerved, that the foreign enemies of Great Britain were not ſo forward to invade her, as her own degenerate and unnatural ſons; that whether this backwardneſs proceeded from the little dependance to be had on ſo falſe a ſet of men, or from the great improbability that a general infatuation ſhould all at once ſeize the people of Great Britain, ſo as to make them renounce their allegiance to a Proteſtant King, who reigned in juſtice and with mercy, and declare for a Popiſh Pretender, long ſince abjured by the moſt ſolemn oaths, in either caſe, continued he, France was in the right; for what faith could be put in ſo deteſtable a crowd of parricides? After

* He was near eighty.

men-

mentioning his being a Roman Catholic in private, and a Proteſtant by his oaths to the government, he proceeded to lament the ſituation of the people in the remote parts of Scotland, who, in conſequence of an abject ſubjection to their chiefs and ſuperiors, muſt be compelled to take up arms, and be forced to rebel againſt their lawful Sovereign. Now, ſaid he, we know the diſeaſe, and can better apply a remedy *; and having remarked that the Proteſtant Succeſſion was not an empty name, but ſomething real and eſſential, he concludes with theſe words: "Your Lordſhip has led a life of craft, "diſſimulation, and perfidy; but the ſentence "which I am to inflict upon you, will ſoon ſend "you to a tribunal, where no diſguiſe nor artifice "can avail you."

April the 9th he was led to the ſcaffold, and behaved in the ſame manner as at Kirkhill, or at Beaufort, ſpeaking in Engliſh, in Latin, and in French by turns: he told the ſheriff that he was glad he had fallen into ſuch good hands, and that he muſt obey him even *in articulo mortis*. He then repeated theſe admirable words of Ulyſſes out of Ovid; lines which he had pronounced on many occaſions.

Nam genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipſi
Vix ea noſtra voco!

The deeds of long-deſcended anceſtours
Are but by grace of imputation ours,
Theirs in effect!

* There was an act of parliament ſoon afterward, aboliſhing the vaſſalage, and declaring the people free: the ſame thing had been done before the union of the two crowns, but the people, knowing no language but the Erſe, were ignorant of it.

Whether he meant this of the Pretender, or of his own ſon, is not determined, nor have we any thing to guide our conjecture, except the next elegant phraſe out of Horace:

Dulce et decorum eſt pro patria mori——

'Tis a becoming and a pleaſant thing for a man to die for his country.

So giving ten guineas to the executioner, he deſired him to do his buſineſs well, and added ſmiling, "If you mangle me, and I lift up my head, I "ſhall be very angry." This being over, he was led to the block by two yeomen of the Tower; and as he walked along ſaid, *Je meurs un fils indigne de l'Egliſe Romaine.* His head, notwithſtanding the ſhortneſs of his neck, was, by one full, well-aimed, and ſtrenuous blow, ſevered from his body. Soon after this an act of indemnity paſſed, in which were but few exceptions.

The hardſhips of others concerned in the rebellion were great: Strath-Spey was the place to which Roy Steuart and ſome of the moſt guilty reſorted. Sir William Gordon of Park and others retired into Sutherland, from whence many of them fled over to the Orkneys and Shetland, and from thence into Norway and Sweden. Their native country was the leaſt aſylum to the fugitives: the northern counties of England yielded no refuge; and in Scotland the informations were continual. Their only ſanctuary was London, and thither did crowds of them repair. Some plied as day-labourers, ſome went abroad, and others entered into academies under fictitious names. Watts, who had begun an academy in the year 1716, being returned from

from ſtrolling up and down France and the Weſt of England, did, at the Chriſtmas 1746, ſet up an academy in the Pariſh of St. James. His maſters at firſt were either Iriſh or French, and all Roman Catholics. The oldeſt of his boarders was the grandſon of a man who had been killed on the ſide of the rebels at Sheriffmuir, his brother had carried the bloody-croſs among Lovat's tenants, and was killed at the battle of Culloden. He himſelf breathed all the ſpirit of the party, and ſeemed to have dipt his tongue in gall. Another had aſſumed the ſurname of his mother, and had been one of the Pretender's life-guard. Unhappily for me, I had been ſent up in June 1747, to be one of his aſſiſtants, little knowing of his bankruptcy*, leſs of his ignorance (the man being incapable of declining his name in any language) and ſtill leſs of the people he entertained. My Hiſtory of the Rebellion was diſagreeable to them, as were the two Sapphic Odes on his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland. Though I had brought up the impreſſion, yet I was not allowed to publiſh it, for fear of giving offence. Dr. Blair, who ſucceeded me December 23d that year (at a time when I had not the remoteſt apprehenſion of a ſucceſſor) might perhaps be more agreeable at that ſeminary, as his name had not then appeared in public. Poſſibly Blair had been recommended to Watts by R. Freebairn, the man who was printer to the Pretender's army at Perth anno 1715. To my certain knowledge he frequented Coffee Blair's houſe: and it is an undoubted truth, that he was of ſingular ſervice in recommending boarders to Watts from among the diſaffected in North Britain. In a word,

* Thirteen pence halfpenny in the pound: a plauſible ſcheme for bettering his circumſtances would make him do any thing.

Blair was better acquainted with London than I: he had been in it for years before, and he muſt certainly know beſt what paſt between Watts and him.——I have frequently thought, that a Biſhop of a Dioceſe ought, out of compaſſion and mercy to the riſing generation, to look into the practice and principles of thoſe who ſet up academies and ſchools: for I have always obſerved an hidden Jacobite to be a man void of honour, probity, and conſcience.

Whatever were the ſufferings of others the Pretender himſelf underwent little more than what might have been expected. It is ſurpriſing that a young man of any degree of ſagacity could not foreſee, that London would be his only ſanctuary. I have been told, he was in that metropolis in the year 1751, and it is generally believed, that he was in Weſtminſter-hall on the 22d of September, and ſaw the Coronation-dinner about ten years afterwards. One thing is certain, he ſhifted and roamed through the Highlands and Iſlands for five months; during which time he was almoſt in continual alarms.

From Gortuleg, where he had ſlept the night after the battle, he on the next day retired to Glengary-houſe; and from thence rode to Ruthven of Badenoch, where Lord George Murray had diſcharged his followers, and bid every man ſhift for himſelf. The inhabitants there had been of his party, but were not at the battle; and theſe entertained him for five days, in the remoteſt parts of the diſtrict. After this time there was no great encouragement to ſtay there, as the Macphersons had, in obedience to the proclamation of his Royal Highneſs, ſurrendered to Blair, the clergyman of Kinguiſſie: he thought it more ſafe to retire into the country of the Camerons, as nearer the ſea, in caſe he ſhould be too cloſely purſued. Accordingly

ingly he repaired to Achnacarrie, where Lochiel was lying ill of the wounds he had received; and here continued till the time the Argyleſhire Highlanders marched into Lochaber. Lochiel, being a man of ſpirit, urged him to do ſomething for retrieving his affairs; but to no purpoſe: he had been greatly chagrined at his diſaſter, and declined appearing any longer in arms. From this he retired farther toward the ſea, and put up in the houſe of Macdonald of Kingſborough, where a party of Kingſton's horſe had almoſt ſurprized him. Some of theſe informed me, that they frequently had a ſight of him at a diſtance, ſuch as on an oppoſite ſide of a moraſs, a lake, or ſome ſuch ſecurity. Enraged at this diſappointment they ſeized upon Macdonald, as he had conducted him out of the houſe by a ſecret paſſage, even at the time when they were rummaging the ſeveral rooms of the dwelling, in queſt of him. I ſaw Macdonald as they were eſcorting him into Edinburgh, and was preſent when he was confined there. How unfortunate for the Fugitive to be abſent when the French ſhips landed the money on the 4th! Theſe carried off Perth, Lord Elcho, Lord John Drummond, and many other officers. From Kingſborough he went to the dwelling of Colonel Macdonald of Bariſdale, who ſeemed at firſt not to ſhew the ſame regard as hitherto: however, in a ſhort time he became more obſequious than ever, and began to lay down a variety of ſchemes, either for ſupporting him by force, or for extricating him by a timely eſcape out of all his hardſhips: but in this he was acting deceitfully; for he had already been with Hawley, and had agreed to get the Stranger delivered into the hands of the Government; but in ſuch a manner as to reflect no diſhonour upon himſelf. The Fugitive and his guardian S. Tho. Sheridan, who

was ſtill with him, began to harbour ſome ſuſpicion of the man, which increaſed the more, as he went out one morning, as he ſaid, to kill a deer; but in reality to inform the garriſon at Fort Auguſtus, that the Pretender was ſafe in his houſe. A party ſet out the moment they received the information, and certainly would have ſeized him, had not he and Sheridan beheld them, from an eminence, advancing to the houſe where they had been lodged. On this they haſtened toward the head of Loch Sornard, almoſt oppoſite to Fort William, where a ſervant of Cameron of Callard procured them a boat, which carried them down by the Back of Liſmore, and, doubling the point of Morvern, ſailed with them pretty far through the Sound of Mull. As it was night they put in at Cambuſnaguael; where, meeting with an hearty country gentleman, and a devotee of the Church of Rome, they were properly refreſhed; and, as the gentleman could not prevail upon them to ſtay with him, or divert themſelves about Mingry-caſtle, by hunting in the woods, they at night croſſed the Sound to Moreniſh, hoping they might find a veſſel to convey them out of the Britiſh dominions; but in this they were diſappointed: and yet his forlorn condition could not hinder Sheridan from looking narrowly into the natural advantages of the Harbour of Tobermorry, which has ſo much attracted the ſpeculation of the curious.

Tobermorry * Harbour, in the Iſle of Mull (a part of the Duke of Argyle's eſtate) is perhaps one of the fineſt and moſt commodious in Europe. It lies within ſeven miles of the Weſtern Ocean; is ſheltered by the high grounds of Moreniſh, which almoſt form a very large ſegment of a circle about

* In Erſe, Tober mor Ri, the great King's well, or the great well of the King. There are ſome fine ſprings near it.

it, and the deficiency of the curve is ſupplied by a ſmall iſland called Calva (belonging to the ſame Nobleman) about which the ſea ebbs and flows. The water to within two yards of the ſhore is of a depth ſufficient for ſhips of burden to ride in ſafety. The ſhip of the Duke de Medina Celi, the Admiral of the Spaniſh Armada, was ſunk here in the year 1588, and in it was the treaſure (computed at three millions of cruſadoes) inevitably loſt. Experiments have been made oftener than once for getting up the wreck, but to no purpoſe: and I remember very well, that in the year 1737 Captain Roe, whoſe ſkill in uſing the diving-bell was univerſally acknowledged, ſtaid there five weeks in queſt of the prize. The men who were let down ſaw the veſſel whole and intire; only covered with kelp and other ſea weeds: and near the ſtairs of the cabin a ſword was diſcerned lying, with the handle and ſcabbard almoſt intire. What pity it is that the ſons of genius and contrivance could not deviſe ſome wooden frame for fiſhing up this ancient wreck; which, if once found, would much more than compenſate all the toil and labour that might be uſed therein: the depth of the water there not being above fifty yards. I many times have wondered that the harbour of Tobermorry had not furniſhed an embelliſhment for the poem of Timora or of Fingal, eſpecially as the ſcene was Morvern, almoſt oppoſite to it. This poem of Fingal is preferred by ſome to the incomparable Æneid of Virgil.

Whatever aſylum Tobermorry might have given the Pretender in the year 1588, it was a very improper place for him now; and therefore he retired directly to Mackinnon's houſe at Mueſniſh, hoping that as the lady was ſiſter to Clanranald, ſhe might in ſome meaſure contribute to his eſcape: but in this

he

he was miſtaken, for neither the gentleman nor his ſpouſe were at home: ſo, reſolving to loſe no time, he haſtened to the boat, and paſſing by Maclean's Noſe, an high promontory, he ſailed out into the ocean, and in a few hours landed at Eagg; the proprietor of which Mr. Maclean entertained him hoſpitably. Here he might have continued ſome days, but, afraid of a diſcovery, he ſailed over to Canna, a ſmall iſland belonging to Clanranald; and which, from its ſituation, had a very extenſive proſpect; ſo that no ſhip could come from any part of the compaſs without being deſcried at a conſiderable diſtance.

After ſtaying here about ten days, he croſſed over to South-Uiſt, where he was received by the Lady Clanranald and her daughters, who ſeemed to diſcover a ſympathy toward him, tho' the inhabitants were deſirous he ſhould be gone, as they were apprehenſive of a viſit from ſome of the King's ſhips, as had happened both at the Revolution, and in the year 1716, and even at this very time: he had not ſtayed here above eight days, when he went over to Barra, an iſland lying at the foot of South-Uiſt, and ſeparated from it by an eddy: he was adviſed to go over to Ireland with Sir Thomas Sheridan, who aſſured him of his knowing the country well, and laid down the moſt probable means of eſcaping into France from ſome port of that kingdom.

The arguments of Sheridan could not prevail with him to paſs over into Ireland, where the Parliament had ſet 50,000 *l.* upon his head. The Earl of Cheſterfield was that year Lord Lieutenant, and he had by a mild and popular adminiſtration * ſe-

* Upon the New Year's Day of 1745 the Counteſs of Cheſterfield appeared in a new ſuit of clothes, every ſingle article of which was of the Iriſh manufactory.

cured the people ſo firmly to the Government, that both Roman Catholics and Proteſtants ſeemed to be reconciled; and the ports were ſo narrowly watched, that there was no landing there. The Chevalier knew this, and his imagination figured the danger to be more than it really was; ſo that he and Sheridan parted with mutual embraces, the latter giving a full and abſolute promiſe, that as ſoon as poſſible a ſhip ſhould be ſent to carry him over; and commending him to his good fortune, the one put to ſea, and the other returned to Clanranald's houſe.

It was now the beginning of June: daily accounts were arriving of the ſurrender of thoſe concerned with him; the King's ſhips were upon the coaſt, but did not land; they only contented themſelves with throwing ſome few balls among the houſes and ſheep-folds, but at too great a diſtance to do any great miſchief.

It does not appear from the Hiſtory of Scotland, that ever a body of men entered South-Uiſt in an hoſtile manner ſince the time when the Danes forded it over the Hebrides, anno 1050, till this very period. His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland was the perſon to propoſe it, and General Campbell the officer to undertake the execution of the plan which his Royal Highneſs had laid down. The Argyleſhire militia had marched through Lewis, Harris, and North-Uiſt, and were upon the frontiers of South-Uiſt before the unhappy fugitive had an account of their being near him. Fortunately for him one Mrs. Flora Macdonald, daughter to Capt. Hugh Macdonald, who had been an officer in the French ſervice, undertook to carry him through the midſt of thoſe who were in ſearch of him: he put off his own clothes, and aſſumed the low dreſs of a menial ſervant running

ning at the horſe foot. Upon coming to the ſmall eddy that ſeparates North and South Uiſt, the ſervant became more affrighted for fear they ſhould accoſt him in Erſe, a language which he did not underſtand: they did indeed ſpeak to him in that tongue, but Miſs Flora told them that he was a ſervant from the low country: ſhe converſed with them, took the matter upon herſelf, and was actually believed. He continued in Miſs Flora's ſervice for twenty days, when a diſcovery being made that the ſervant was the Pretender himſelf, the ſearch became more violent; and Miſs Flora falling into their hands juſt about four hours after ſhe had parted from him, and had left him with a friend, ſhe made a full diſcovery of all that ſhe knew about him, and directed to the very place where he was. Fortunately for him one of the ſervants came in and told, that a party of the Argyleſhire militia was advancing; and this filled him with the moſt diſmal apprehenſions: there was no remedy, but to put on womens clothes; and in this dreſs he paſſed for a couſin to the landlady of the houſe, and even witneſſed the ſearch that was making for him: there was not the leaſt obſervation made upon the Miſtreſs's couſin, further than that ſhe was extremely tall. Miſs continued in her clothes for four hours; but upon the party going away in queſt of their prey, the Pretender aſſumed his former habit, and going out, he took a private road by himſelf, without truſting any perſon: for two days he wandered in this way, and on the morning came to a fiſherman, who had ſome fiſh; the ſtranger was hungry, and one being near who knew him, he was entertained with ſome broiled fiſh, and ſuch bread as is uſed in theſe parts. On going off he offered a Louiſdore; but the people told him, that the ſearch for him was briſk, and

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if any money was found upon them it might raiſe a ſuſpicion; and ſo he departed. For fourteen days he continued in this forlorn ſtate, the militia ſeeking for him on all ſides, and frequently coming to the very place which he had but juſt quitted. Mr. Campbell, who was ſent to take up the arms both of the enemies and friends of the Government, has told me, that he has frequently been upon the oppoſite ſide of the hill from him, and at other times in a ſmall boat juſt off the ſhore where the militia was marching.

As the ſearch became every day hotter, in conſequence of the information given by Miſs Macdonald when under examination *, he retired over to the Iſle of Sky, hoping both to find friends there, and that the ſearch would be ſomewhat abated. He generally ſet off in the night-time, and continued either at ſea through the day, or elſe upon the top of ſome mountain, whence he could have a view of the adjacent country. While in Sky he one day accidentally met with a man, whoſe name was Neil Mackinnon, and he carried him to the houſe of one of his relations, where he was properly refreſhed, but did not diſcover who he was. The common people of that iſland are among the moſt courteous to ſtrangers of any in the kingdom; the deſtitute fugitive obſerving him to be very ready to oblige him, he informed who he was: the man was ſtruck with the matter, and therefore conducted him to the houſe of Capt. Mackinnon, to whom he was perſonally known: that very night ſome ſtrangers came to the houſe, which raiſed the more circumſpection. The Captain informed a younger brother of the matter, and it was concluded that he ſhould be put to bed,

* She was conducted up to London, and confined in a meſſenger's houſe in Dartmouth-ſtreet, Weſtminſter.

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and a woman's clothes to be laid over his upon the chair that ſtood near; and this was the ſecond time he ever had recourſe to the expediency of a woman's habit. After paſſing ten days in Sky, he went over to Raarſa, where he continued tolerably ſafe, and ſhifting his abode, croſſed to the continent of Kintail, where one day he went into a houſe to have ſome refreſhment, but the landlord, named Macra, declared he would entertain none, except ſuch as he knew. This being the caſe, the fugitive ſtrolled over the Highlands of Roſsſhire, came down by the diſtrict of Strathglaſs, and from thence into Lochaber, where the ſearch had entirely abated, and here he continued near the ſeaſide, but never above one night in an houſe, till the 12th of September, when a ſhip from Boulogne entered the bay of Bariſdale, and the Captain having a letter from Mr. Butler, an Iriſh gentleman, and a merchant at Boulogne, he was prevailed on to come to an appointed place, and to have an interview with the Captain, who delivered him another letter from Sir Thomas Sheridan; by which, and other circumſtances, being convinced of the integrity and uprightneſs of the man, he went on board, and coaſting by the back of Ireland, the veſſel ſailed toward Breſt in Picardy; but being met by one of his Majeſty's men of war, the ſhip was obliged to crowd ſail, and make all poſſible haſte to Morlaix, where he landed to the aſtoniſhment of all who ſaw him, as he brought nothing but the ſhattered remains of his conſtitution, to point out his own ambition and raſhneſs, and to ſhew the power of our King's ſon, whoſe name had already been a terror to the armies and councils of France.

The End of the EIGHTH BOOK.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

BOOK IX.

CONTENTS.

The State of the Miniſtry in Great Britain *in the Year* 1746,—*the Character of Mr.* Pitt,—*the Arrival of his Royal Highneſs in* Holland,—*a Body of* Ruſſians *are taken into* Britiſh *Pay*,—*Character of the Prince of* Orange,—*the Battle of* Lafelt,—*and Peace of* Aix la Chapelle.

THE Adventurer having failed in the enterprize, on the event of which no leſs than the fate of Europe depended, the Britiſh nation was left in full freedom to proſecute the war with more vigour than ever againſt all her enemies.

The factions of the Earl of Grenville and of the Duke of Newcaſtle, that had diſtorted the Privy Council in the beginning of the year, were ſo far united, that there was an emulation which ſhould outdo each other in promoting the cauſe of their country.

country. The former nobleman was a perſon of great addreſs, and of long experience; he had negotiated a peace between Denmark and Sweden, and between Sweden and Ruſſia, in the years 1719 and 1721; while Lord Lieutenant of Ireland he had done things, which the natives of that kingdom will ever keep in the moſt grateful remembrance. He had been appointed Secretary of State in the beginning of the year, but in three days reſigned his employment; the Duke of Newcaſtle, who had ſpent a vaſt fortune to promote the advancement of the family of Hanover to the throne, had the ſeals reſtored to him; his brother Henry Pelham, and ſuch as were more cloſely connected with him, likewiſe came in; and to gain the more favour with the public, ſome gentlemen, whoſe abilities had begun to ſhine in the Houſe of Commons, were introduced into a ſhare of the adminiſtration.

Among the number of theſe was William Pitt, Eſq; a gentleman who, ever ſince the time when he appeared againſt the ſeamens bill, which enabled every petty conſtable to ſearch houſes at his pleaſure, under pretext of ſeeking for mariners, had now arrived at a great pitch of reputation and character: he was thoroughly acquainted with the different intereſts of the ſeveral Courts of Europe: he has been at one time or other in every metropolis, well ſkilled in the French tongue, and no ſtranger to the genius of France in general, or to her miniſtry in particular; a man of as fine wit and parts as ever had a ſeat in Parliament, of profound ſecrecy and readineſs of wit, of ſuch perſuaſion and eloquence, that his very attitudes were ſo many ſignificant ſymbols to ſtrengthen his arguments; like Cato he was always laſt in his own care; like him moderate in private life. In every

thing he fixed upon an end to be attained, and never loſt ſight thereof; he traced out things to their firſt and natural ſource; a ſincere lover of juſtice *; a ſtrict obſerver of truth and decorum; and after Parliaments have heard him with aſtoniſhment, expoſing the foibles and unmeaning practices of a miniſtry, too ready to run into the meaſures of our enemies; by a ſmoothneſs of perſuaſion no leſs prevailing than that of any orator which ever Greece or Rome produced, did he break down the fences of oppoſition, level the bulwarks of corruption, and burſt the barriers of party: by mere force of argument does he deſcribe the advantages or diſadvantages ariſing from any meaſure under conſideration, and with ſuch propriety, that one would be apt to imagine he was rather reciting a narrative of what was paſt, than laying open a probability of what was to come. This gentleman was appointed Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland, and in a ſhort time after he was made Paymaſter General of the forces, and admitted to be a member of the Privy Council.

In conſequence of this union among the parties, every ally was ſupported in a manner ſuitable to the engagements that Great Britain had contracted; for beſides the ſubſidies granted to the King of Sweden, Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, they granted 300,000 *l.* to the King of Sardinia, 400,000 *l.* to the Empreſs Queen of Hungary, 410,000 *l.* for maintaining 18,000 Hanoverians, 33,000 *l.* to the Electors of Cologne and Mentz, and 500,000 *l.* in a vote of credit to his Majeſty; the whole charge of that year being 7,250,000 *l.* raiſed by the land and malt tax, annuities raiſed

* Juſtitiæ cultor, rigidi ſervator honeſti,
In commune bonus. LUCAN. PHARSAL. l. 2.

on the additional duties on glaſs and ſpirituous liquors, a lottery, a deduction from the ſinking fund, and Exchequer bills chargeable on the firſt aids that ſhould be granted by the next ſeſſion of Parliament.

Though much of theſe ſubſidies had been laid out in ſuppreſſing the rebellion, yet there was ſtill a ſufficiency for enabling Great Britain to humble the pride of thoſe who had contrived and ſupported it.

To wound France in her very vitals, it was reſolved to ſend a body of troops into Britany. In September 1746 the inhabitants of Rochelle and Rochfort ſaw a fleet of ſixteen ſhips of the line, and eight frigates, beſides bomb ketches and ſtore-ſhips, appear upon their coaſts. The object of this expedition was (according to them) "to deſtroy Port l'Orient, and with it the French Eaſt India Company, to maſter Port Louis, to lay Britany under contribution, to excite the Calviniſts toward Rochelle, Languedoc, and Dauphiny, to a revolt; and all this at a time when the Britiſh fleets were preparing to attack the different ſettlements of France in Aſia and America, and depended upon making themſelves maſters of Naples, after bringing Genoa under the yoke;" things far from being improbable, as the Auſtrians were maſters of Italy, and that Great Britain had hardly any more enemies at ſea.

General Sinclair landed with 7000 men on the 2d of October, at a place called Polduc, without oppoſition, and among theſe was the new-raiſed Highland regiment, the firſt corps from North Britain that had ever entered France in an hoſtile manner. From thence he advanced to Plemur, and encamped on an eminence, which commanded L'Orient and Port Louis; but for want of artillery did

did not attack the place till the 8th, when he intimated to the inhabitants, that unleſs they ſurrendered they were to expect all the inconveniencies ariſing from a ſtorm; the commander of the militia agreed to his terms, but afterward retracted; and in the mean time the wind chopping about, Admiral Leſtock made a ſignal to give him notice of it, upon which the General drew off the troops, reimbarked at Plemur, then made a deſcent upon the little Iſle of Quiberon, where they burnt a man of war, and would have continued longer upon the coaſt, but the ſea there is ſhallow, and the winds blow fiercely at that ſeaſon of the year, ſo that they ſailed for Ireland: however the French may jeſt at this expedition *, yet it ſhewed that Great Britain could ſpare troops, even to annoy her enemies upon their own coaſts, at a time when ſhe kept them at bay in Flanders and Brabant, where the French got no real advantage, notwithſtanding the immenſity of treaſure expended in ſupport of prodigious armies; even the victory at Rocoux was of little ſignificance to them.

The Britiſh troops at that time were commanded by Sir John John Ligonier, and lay between the village of Warem and Rocoux; and though they could not hinder the ſiege of Namur, nor prevent its being taken by M. Clermont, yet they kept the French ſo far in motion, as to ſtop the rapidity of their conqueſts, and oblige them to contract their bounds. On the 1ſt of October the Confederate Generals reſolved to decamp, and Marſhal Saxe was determined to harraſs them; for this purpoſe he brought up the whole of his army, and that enormous artillery caſt in the founderies of Vernon, under the eye of M. de Belleiſle; with theſe

* See Voltaire's Hiſtory of the War 1741, p. 245.

he had battered the walls and works about Bruſſels and Namur: ſome pieces of 48 pounders were loaded with cartridge ſhot to begin the engagement. As the Allied army began to draw off, this enormous artillery fired upon them; the Confederate Generals haſtened out of their reach, and the French cavalry began to purſue; but the Earl of Crauford turned about with the Britiſh horſe, and attacking the enemy ſword in hand, drove them back to their ranks with prodigious ſlaughter, then returned and joined the other part of the army. In this manner the battle continued for about four hours, when the French halting, the Allies purſued their march to Maeſtricht, where they encamped ſafe under the walls of the town. Their loſs was about 4000 men, beſides 1000 priſoners, moſt of whom were wounded; they likewiſe left behind them 30 pieces of cannon, merely for want of horſes to carry them off. The French loſt a much greater number, and among others the Marquis de Fenelon, nephew to the immortal Fenelon, Archbiſhop of Cambray, beſides a great number of officers; whereas the loſs of the Allies conſiſted in private men, particularly the Heſſians, who had ſerved ſo well in the expedition to Scotland.

Encounters like theſe at Rocoux tended only to inflame the enemies of France. The Dutch, more cordially united than ever, reſolved to carry on the war in Brabant: they judged, and very juſtly, that the ruin of their Barrier was more owing to the diviſions among themſelves than to the power of the enemy. Hitherto the magiſtrates, the burghers, and the populace ſeemed to be of different intereſts; but now, from a ſenſe of danger, all united in the choice of the Prince of Orange for Stadtholder and Captain-general. And the King of

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Great Britain was determined to make his enemy feel the effects of his power in the different quarters of the globe. The ſuperiority at ſea was viſibly on his ſide; and, to obtain the ſame by land, he once more ſent his own Son to take upon him the command of the army. For this purpoſe he ſet out in the month of January, and arriving at the Hague, entered immediately into a conference with Prince Waldec upon the plan of operation; and though nothing could divert him from his main buſineſs, yet he received not only the compliments of the States from their Deputies, but likewiſe thoſe of the Emperor and Empreſs, and of all the foreign ambaſſadors, with as much eaſe and complacency, as if he had only come upon a viſit of congratulation and ceremony. The States of Holland went ſo far as to offer him the command of their troops; the Emperor ſoon followed their example. Never was Prince more honoured and reſpected. The States ſeemed to be unuſually gay, and felicitated him upon his glorious ſucceſs, and the honour he had gained. Poems were addreſſed to his ſiſter, the Princeſs of Orange, on the battle of Culloden, in Dutch, French, Latin, and Engliſh. However, his Highneſs did not come over in queſt of applauſe or empty commendation: his deſign was to lay open the ſource of the diſtaſters in the Netherlands, and to awaken the States-general into a ſenſe of the danger they were in: that in conſequence of this they might ſend forth their full complement of troops, pay the ſubſidies punctually to the allies, as the Crown of Britain had ſet them the example: and in a conference with the Grand Penſionary, at which M. de Van Haaren was preſent, he told them, That he believed the people of Holland would not ſuffer more without fortified towns, than as they were. I, continued he, never looked

upon a fortified place to be a real fence to any ſtate, unleſs it commands the only entrance to that ſtate to which it is the barrier: a well-diſciplined and numerous army, under the direction of an able commander, who has orders to fight, is their beſt ſecurity. There are many ways by which an enemy can come into the United Provinces: which they would not be ſo ready to enter, if there was a body of good troops to give them a warm reception. The obſervation of his Highneſs was extremely juſt; for the States of Holland can never be ſafe by any barrier but the good œconomy of their finances, the regularity of their government, the reſpectable ſituation of their troops, and the proper condition of their marine. The Prince of Orange ſaw thoroughly into the extent of the argument, and became convinced of its force. Experience has ſhewn, that by means of theſe forts almoſt thirty thouſand priſoners had fallen into the hands of the common enemy; who, elated with ſucceſs, threatened at times to penetrate into the very heart and bowels of the ſtate; and yet he could not think of a proper remedy. For, walking one day with his Royal Highneſs nigh the Houſe in the Wood, he obſerved, that the troops which were hired from the petty princes of the Empire proved of very little uſe againſt the French, except in the defence of fortreſſes. Theſe princes, ſaid he, live almoſt in the neighbourhood of France, their connections with the ſubjects of that crown are ſtrict, and in ſome caſes natural: ſome time or other they have been in the pay of that crown; nor is there a prince this day in the Empire whoſe troops have not, at leaſt ſome of them, ſerved in the armies either of France or of Spain. However, we muſt endeavour to make them as uſeful to the ſtate as poſſible; and, depend upon it, nothing ſhall be wanting on my part to have a proper

proper army on foot, and to bring them early into the field, for the good of the common cauſe. This being over he ſet out from Loo, on his return to England; where he laid down the ſubject of the ſeveral conferences which he had with the Generals of the army, with the Deputies of the States, and with the Prince of Orange.

'Tis the character of the people of England to improve a hint to more advantage, and even to a further extent, than had entered the heart of him who firſt popoſed it. The Britiſh miniſtry began to ſee clearly what ſo often had been complained of in former wars, that the want of ſucceſs in the Netherlands was greatly owing to the backwardneſs of the Court of Vienna to ſend out her full complement of troops conformable to treaties, and as their own intereſt required. It was a common thing for a regiment of foot to be ſtated at 1200 in the bill, when payment was required, and yet in reality not to conſiſt of more than half the number. The ſame thing might be ſaid of their horſe, their dragoons, their artillery, their carriages, nay and their incidental charges. The Court of Britain was convinced of this treatment from that of Vienna, and from the inferior princes: and now was the queſtion, What to do? The Danes being in the neighbourhood of Sweden, and over-awed by Ruſſia, could not ſpare any quota. Sweden was in the ſame ſituation: and ſo the matter ſeemed to be carried to its utmoſt, when his Royal Highneſs ſaid, And where is the impropriety of taking a body of Ruſſians into pay, more than a body of Swedes or Danes? The firſt may be eaſily tranſported, though not perhaps with the ſame facility as the others: yet wherever there is a true zeal, whereever there is a real deſire of entering into action, a few days march will be in a manner nothing. My

advice is, that we ſhould negotiate with the Empreſs of Ruſſia for a body of 50,000 men; which may be landed near Hamburgh or Bremen, and may ſoon be up with the grand army, without being intercepted. If theſe once join the Britiſh and Hanoverian troops, my life for giving a good account of the enemy. The Ruſſians will be ſubject to orders, and will fight as veterans, eſpecially when at a diſtance from their own country. He obſerved, that the forces of all nations fought beſt when in another country, or immediately upon the frontiers of their own; and that the Ruſſians had very lately given a ſhining proof of the firſt in their war with the Turks, and more lately had ſhewn to the world an evidence of the latter in their war with the Swedes. The King and his chief miniſters agreed to the project; and directly wrote to the Earl of Hyndford, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Peterſburgh, to enter into a negotiation for 50,000 effective men.

That nobleman, ſo famous for having negotiated a peace between the King of Pruſſia and the Empreſs Queen, was already in high favour in the Ruſſian empire, and ſoon brought about the bargain for the body of troops propoſed; for which the Empreſs was to receive the annual ſum of 100,000 *l.* Their rendezvous was to be at Dunebere in Livonia; and they were to conſiſt of thoſe who had ſo lately ſignalized themſelves at the taking of Oczakow and the battle of Czaſlaw againſt the Turks, or in the fierce and terrible encounter with the Swedes at Wilmanſtradt.

Since the beginning of the war there was not ſo much buſineſs in the different theatres of action as in the year 1747; for in that period the marine of France was reduced to one ſingle man of war. She had in the preceeding year loſt an immenſity of

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treaſure both in Aſia and America: ſeveral French and Spaniſh ſhips, with very rich cargoes (to the amount of 8,500,000 *l.*) ſuddenly arrived at Louiſburgh, ſome from the Eaſt Indies, others from Peru and Mexico, and caſt anchor in the harbour, without knowing that the ſame had changed maſters. Every capture was an addition to the ſtrength of Great Britain, and a diminution of the power of her enemines. The Britiſh fleet rode triumphant in every quarter. On the 16th of May ſix large French men of war and ſeven Eaſt India ſhips were taken by Lord Anſon (who had ſailed round the world) and Admiral Warren: the Centurion, which had traverſed the globe, came up the Thames with the news. Two-and-twenty waggons loaded with the gold and ſilver taken on board the French fleet yielded a more general ſatisfaction to the merchants and trading people of the great metropolis, than the account of a complete victory over the armies of France either in Germany or Flanders. And no wonder; for by this capture the enemy loſt to the amount of 1,609,000 *l.* Nay, the victors might have taken the whole Martinico fleet, which was under the convoy of theſe ſhips, had not the Marquis de la Jonquiere, the French commodore, by ſtanding between them and the Britiſh ſquadron, given them an opportunity to eſcape.

The French had no more than ſeven men of war to eſcort their merchant ſhips to the American colonies: theſe were met in the Bay of Biſcay by Admiral Hawke's fleet, which was double the number of theirs: the two ſquadrons engage, and out of the ſeven, ſix were taken; ſo that now the marine of France was reduced to one ſhip only, and that of Spain was every day mouldering away: her ſeamen had in a manner loſt all ſort of courage; whereas the Britiſh ſailors were ſo heartened, that the

the Dartmouth, a ſmall ſhip of 40 guns, encountered the Glorioſa of 74: they were off the rock of Liſbon, where the latter had landed the money which ſhe had brought from Porto Bello but the day before. The engagement continued for ſix glaſſes almoſt within piſtol ſhot of each other, when a cannon placed upon the poop burſt, by means of an immoderate quantity of powder brought by an unſkilful hand, the Dartmouth blew up, and with her the captain and the whole ſhip's crew, except twenty-ſix, who (all but Capt. Obrien) were wounded; ſome loſt their arms, ſome had their thighs broke, and others were diſjointed. The gentleman, Thomas Scott, a relation of mine, from whom I had the ſtory, declared that he was ſplicing the ſhrouds, when all of a ſudden a miſt came over his eyes, and deprived him of his ſenſes; that when the boat of one of the three privateers, which ſome time raked the Glorioſa afore and aft, during the engagement, came to take him up, he found himſelf upon an oar, bending croſs his breaſt, and his left leg broke in two places. Mr. Obrien was more fortunate, and his caſe was ſtill more aſtoniſhing; for he had been drinking a can of flip with Lieutenant Mackenzie, and while holding the ſame out to the other gentleman, the exploſion happened. He was no leſs ſtunned than my friend, and all at once found himſelf ſitting in the carriage of the gun in the middle of the water, which was ſmooth, and as much at eaſe as if placed in an eaſy chair in his own room. Short-lived was the triumph of the Glorioſa, for ſhe was taken next day by the Ruſſel of 70 guns, though thoſe on board her were moſtly invalids, wounded and maimed.

The taking of Madraſs, and relieving Pondicherry in the Eaſt Indies, was of no ſubſtantial detriment to the affairs of Great Britain, while the very

very victories which France gained tended no leſs to impoveriſh her, than the Allies which hitherto ſhe had ſupported. The Genoeſe were become burthenſome, and the more ſo, as the Auſtrians had drained from them above 5,000,000 *l.* the Infant Don Philip, with the King of Naples, drew daily upon the French treaſury for immenſe ſums; her ſcheme of ſetting the Pretender on the throne of Britain had proved abortive, notwithſtanding the ſame had been ſupported at the expence of ſeveral ſhips, about 3000 men, and 200,000 *l.* France and Spain had loſt very fine armies in Italy, notwithſtanding the addreſs of the Prince of Conti; while the King of Sardinia and the Auſtrians extended their conqueſts as far as the Var, and even croſſed into Provence.

To vindicate the credit and reputation of the French arms, there was nothing to be done, except on the borders of Holland. All the force of France was in a manner collected here, and to give the further eclat to her enterprizes, the grand monarch again ſet out from Paris for the army in Brabant. He reached the quarters of M. de Saxe at Liege on the 27th of April, and having given all poſſible encouragement to his troops, who were more numerous than ever, he ſent Count Lowendahl to reduce the towns and fortreſſes, while he and his General Count Saxe marched to ſeek out the army of the Allies in the field, or to hem them in on every quarter.

At this time the Confederate army was more numerous than in either of the preceding campaigns: the Dutch, by means of the Prince of Orange's party, had come more heartily into the quarrel, and the Empreſs Queen ſaw the abſolute neceſſity of acting up to her dignity: ſhe had no leſs than 20,000 foot, and 10,000 horſe under the command

command of Field Marſhal Bathiani, a nobleman of Bohemia, an officer of years and experience, one who had ſerved at the battle of Peterwaradin under the famous Prince Eugene, and had fought both in Flanders and Germany againſt the armies of France. The Dutch troops conſiſted of 20,000 men; the national troops of Great Britain amounted to fifteen regiments, thoſe raiſed for quelling the rebellion having been continued, and the Duke of Kingſton's horſe being declared to be the Duke of Cumberland's regiment of dragoons. Beſides theſe were 10,000 Hanoverians and 5000 Heſſians.

To forward the operations of the troops, the Duke of Cumberland ſet out from St. James's about four in the morning of the 1ſt of February, attended by Lord Bury, Lord Cathcart, and Colonel Fitzwilliams, and by the way of Harwich and Helvoetſluys arrived next day at the Hague, where he found things more to his ſatisfaction than hitherto: he was every day in conference with the Deputies, the Penſionary, or with the Prince of Orange, of whom it will not be improper to draw a character.

William Henry Friſo was the poſthumous ſon of that Prince of Orange, who fought with an aſtoniſhing intrepidity at the battle of Malplaquet: he was an orphan before he ſaw the light of the world; like William III. Prince of Orange and King of England, he no ſooner came to years of maturity, than he met with very hard uſage from the ſame quarter as our great Deliverer; the States of Holland ſlighted him, and neglected to confer upon him the high office of his anceſtors; but he bore all with true magnanimity, a greatneſs of mind ſuperior to fortune, and a reſignation to the Divine Providence, which never abandons thoſe who confide in it; like his illuſtrious predeceſſor,

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he was poſſeſſed of a wonderful ſagacity, a quick diſcernment, and a ſolid judgment; he was munificent, ſerene, and temperate, and ſo moderate in reſpect to titles and honours, as to neglect thoſe he had the juſteſt right to. It was no wonder if two ſuch great ſouls as the Duke of Cumberland, and the Prince of Orange, ſhould unite together in all the bonds of mutual affection, being connected together not ſo much by the tie of affinity, as of a ſimilarity of manners, and a likeneſs of diſpoſition and genius. The reaſon of his Highneſs continuing here ſo long was to wait for the troops from England and Scotland, which accordingly arrived on the 11th of March at Williamſtadt, where by order of the Prince of Orange they were very hoſpitably received. Next morning the Duke went from the Hague to review them, and on the 16th returned, in order to ſettle the further operations, which being adjuſted, he ſet out on the 27th to take upon him the command of the Confederate army, which then began to aſſemble about Tilbourg: he came to them in an open chaiſe, to which there was free acceſs; above two hundred petitions were preſented to him from different perſons: he received and read them all as much as poſſible, and finding their purport to be, that the men might be eaſed of the burden of giving four pence *per* week out of their pay, for receiving their money in the coin of the country, and of four pence more for camp equipage; he directly called the general officers together, and after remonſtrating upon the impropriety of putting any hardſhip upon private men, matters were ſo ſettled, that they were paid ever after in the currency of the country to the utmoſt extent. And here he could not help expreſſing a peculiar ſatisfaction at ſeeing the regiments, who had gone with him through the winter campaign

campaign of 1745, and who had fought at Culloden battle.

The French Generals had not been idle: Marſhal Saxe had arrived at Bruſſels on the 19th, when the troops under his command filed off by different routs, and immediate preparations were made for opening the campaign. Count Lowendahl entered the Dutch territories at the head of 25,000 men, and ſoon reduced Sluys, Sas Van Ghent, and Fort Philippine, Axel, and Hulſt; and to hurt the States General ſtill more, the Marſhal de Contades entered by the Scheld a little below Antwerp, and ſoon maſtered Doel, Perli, Liehenſhack, and Lillo, no walls being able to reſiſt the ſhock of their enormous artillery. The States remonſtrated upon this irruption into their territory, and the French endeavoured to pacify them by an aſſurance, that the places garriſoned by the troops of the Republic, but the property of the Auſtrians, ſhould be reſtored ſo ſoon as ever the States of Holland ſhould give convincing proofs of their furniſhing no ſuccours to the powers with whom the French were at war.

So ſtriking a declaration awakened the people out of their lethargy. A reſolution was taken, of making an augmentation of 30,000 men to their troops. Mynheer Van Hoey was recalled from Paris, the Importation of French goods was prohibited, and every other precaution was taken, except the actual declaration of war.

While the detachments under Count Lowendahl and Marſhal Contades were effecting the total reduction of Dutch Flanders, and while the French and the Sates politicians were carrying on a paper war, the grand armies of France and of the Confederates were preparing for a deciſive action; which might influence the conference for a general

peace

peace which M. de Thiel, the French plenipotentiary, and M. de Macanas, the Spaniſh miniſter, had propoſed to be held at Aix la Chapelle, Worms, or any other place which the Count de Waſſenaer ſhould fix on. The French troops were cantoned between Mechlin and Louvain, and thoſe of the Allies lay encamped near Antwerp, till the 15th of May, when they made a motion, by the direction of the Duke of Cumberland, in order to encamp between the Great and Little Nethe with the right at Lieres and the left at Cinq Fontaines. This alteration was of the utmoſt advantage, as it ſecured a ſafer and more eaſy communication with the Schelde, and by encamping upon a freſh ground it tended much to the health and eaſe of the ſoldiers; hoſpitals were erected in the moſt commodious ſituation and at proper diſtances, every inconvenience was avoided, and the troops in general were more hearty and well. This motion of his Royal Highneſs obliged M. Saxe to quit his cantonments on the 21ſt, when the infantry marched to the camp marked out for them behind the Dyle: ſo that the two armies were now within ten miles of each other. Here they might have continued for ſome time, had not the French King arrived there on the 31ſt, and given immediate orders for calling in all the detachments, while a battery was erected upon the Schelde, to hinder all communication by water betwixt the Confederate army and Holland.

After ſeveral marches and counter marches, which ſufficiently demonſtrated the ſkill and addreſs of the two great commanders the Duke of Cumberland and M. de Saxe, the armies came in ſight of each other on the 18th of June, the Allies being about Lonakin, and the French at Tongres. The former conſiſted of very fine troops, and ſuch as had been acquainted with battles: they were com-

manded by generals of experience and conduct, among whom were the Prince of Wolffenbuttle, and Count Daun, the ſame who beat the King of Pruſſia at Czaſlaw and at Hochkirchen. The French generals had been inured to fields of danger; and to prompt them to exert themſelves, they were favoured with the preſence of their King, under whoſe eye they had already proved victorious: they had beſides the ſuperiority of numbers, and a large train of artillery.

But though they were near each other, yet they did not come ſo near as to engage until the 1ſt of July, when the Duke of Cumberland, who had been indefatigable, always on horſeback by day-break, and ever buſy in procuring the beſt intelligence, propoſed to Prince Waldec to march up to the enemy. A ſalutary propoſal indeed, as their artillery had not arrived: but in this he was oppoſed both by the Marſhal and the Prince, between the latter of whom and him there was a viſible reſerve ever after.

On the 2d in the morning the army of the Allies was drawn up in order of battle; the Auſtrians on the right, the Dutch in the center, and the Britiſh troops upon the left, having the village of Val in their front; and this was taken poſſeſſion of by ſix battalions of foot, and defended by a battery of ſix pieces of cannon. In the mean time the enemy advanced, when a champion came out from their lines, and called out for a man to fight him. The Earl of Hume being at the head of the guards, anſwered in French, *I m'avancerai immediatement*, and accordingly rode forward. Theſe two charged each other with their ſwords, and ſo cloſely that the victory continued in ſuſpence for twenty minutes, when his Lordſhip cleft the Frenchman from the crown of his head to the collar bone, and laid

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a ſide of his head upon each of his ſhoulders. In the mean time the enemy was advancing, in the form of a wedge, toward the village of Val, where the Britiſh guards, with the diviſions of Howard, Wolf, and Mordaunt were placed. The enemy had twelve battalions in front, and were twelve deep; but the ſecond line more extended than the third, and this more than the ſecond, and ſo on ſucceſſively to the laſt: and to the right of the firſt line was Count Tallard's regiment of horſe, with that of the French cuiraſſiers. Three ſquadrons of the regiment of Greys moved forward to attack them, engaged them, and cut them in pieces: no leſs than ſix-and thirty ſquadrons came up to ſuccour the corps that was broke; and theſe engaged the victors. The fight was bloody and obſtinate: however numbers carried it, ſo that the Greys were obliged to retire, but not in diſorder; neither indeed were they purſued: though as they were returning they received a full diſcharge from a body of foot that had been lodged behind ſome hedges to intercept them. The column advanced toward Val, where his Royal Highneſs had poſted himſelf in the front line, to animate them by his preſence. The artillery there was ſerved with great order, and fired the whole time the enemy was advancing, as well upon their front as upon the ſquadrons of horſe that ſupported the right and left flanks.

At ten o'clock the cannonading began on the enemy's ſide againſt the village, with the field pieces which their infantry had brought with them. By the ſecond ſhot from which the Baron de Zigifaer, a German, aid de camp to his Highneſs, was killed: this was ſoon followed with an attack from the brigades of Dillon, Vaiſſeaux, Navarre, La Marque, Monaco, and their Gens d'armes: but theſe were ſoon diſperſed, with prodigious loſs, as

were their ſecond, third, and fourth diviſions: however, freſh troops always came up, ſo that the regiments in Val were obliged to give way. They fell back a little, when the Earl of Hume rallied them, and again brought them back to the charge, recovered their poſt, and joined the regiments of Wolf, Charles Howard, Conway, and Hants, who had now ſupplied their places and were cloſely engaged with the enemy. The carnage was great; and yet the French ſtill appeared more numerous: they kept pouring in freſh lines of foot, ſo that the village was loſt and regained five different times; or in other words, the Britiſh and Hanoverian battalions were four times driven from it, but as oft regained their former ſtation: till wearied out by fatigue they quitted it the fifth time, and neither returned nor yet were purſued.

The inſtant that the enemy made the firſt general diſcharge of ſmall arms at the village, his Highneſs ſent an aid de camp expreſs to M. Bathiani, to inform him that the left was attacked; that the enemy ſeemed determined to make their whole effort upon Val, and therefore deſired he would be attentive to ſupport him ſpeedily and effectually. The Marſhal returned for anſwer, that he had diſpatched Count Daun with fourteen battalions for that very purpoſe, and would likewiſe ſupport him further as much as poſſible; and beſides this infantry, part of the ſquadrons of Count Daun's corps was ordered to Val likewiſe; nine of theſe battalions arrived time enough to do great execution, but the other five, being ordered from the corps de reſerve, did not arrive till after, having a larger extent of ground to march through.

About twelve o'clock affairs went on ſo well, that his Royal Highneſs ordered the whole left wing to advance upon the enemy, whoſe infantry gave

gave way on every quarter, but were ſtill ſupported by freſh troops, and by great bodies of cavalry, who conſtantly appeared upon their flanks; but, above all, by a monſtrous train of artillery, which directed all their force againſt the left wing. M. Bathiani could give but a faint aſſiſtance; for the troops and batteries on the hill of Herdeeren, which guarded the left of the enemy, kept him in awe; and the Prince of Waldeck, fearing they might fetch a compaſs round another village called Bilſen, and attack the right in flank, which in time might put him between two fires, he continued almoſt without any movement. It is true Bathiani's wing advanced a little toward Herdeeren, and drove a detached party from the village of Elohl, that lay in the front thereof; and here they ſtopt; which Count Saxe obſerving, he ordered the batteries to be fully prepared in caſe they proceeded further; and at the ſame time commanded the infantry of the reſerve to reinforce the troops that were engaged with the left wing. The French right wing, and the left of the Allies, were now more cloſely engaged than ever; there was nothing but thunder and ſmoke. Unfortunately for the latter, ſome ſquadrons in the center of the line wheeled toward the right, in order to attack the French cavalry on the left flank of their right wing; and riding inadvertently among the five battalions of the corps de reſerve, which were marching toward Val, theſe were entirely overthrown before the miſtake was diſcovered; a miſtake which tended more to deciding the action, than either the inactivity of the Dutch, or the lukewarmneſs of the Auſtrians. His Royal Highneſs rode immediately between the lines, and in the midſt of the firing to the head of the cavalry, and with the aſſiſtance of the Dutch Major-General Cannenburgh endeavoured to rally

them, but in vain; the enemy preſſed into the opening, and like a ſtrong wedge ſplit the Confederate army in two. The Duke ſaw it with concern, but without either anger or inquietude; he rode toward the left wing on a full ſtretch without being ſtopt, as the enemy in the midſt of the ſmoke took him for one of their own general officers. And here the battle was kindled into the fierceſt rage, the right flank of the left wing being charged by the ſquadrons that had broke in, and the front expoſed to all the fire of the numerous infantry that every moment multiplied againſt them.

Things being in this ſituation, the cavalry of the left, with ſome ſquadrons of the Imperialiſts, under the command of Major-General Bournonville, were led on by Sir John Ligonier, charged the French cavalry, and once more overthrew all before them on that quarter; but too eager in the purſuit, they received a ſharp fire from a body of foot, which were poſted in a hollow way, and among ſome hedges, to favour the flight of their own horſe, by which they ſuffered greatly: however, they diſperſed that body of foot, as alſo ſome freſh ſquadrons that were ſent to ſuſtain them; but all was in vain while the army was cut in two. At this very time Sir John Ligonier adviſed his Royal Highneſs to retire to a place of ſafety, and in the mean time he would throw himſelf in the enemy's way to be taken priſoner. The advice was too ſalutary to be neglected, and there being even an honour to be obtained in getting through the French ranks, he directly clapt ſpurs to his horſe, and never halted till he had joined the wing that was ſo hard preſſed; and yet not until he had ſent an aid de camp to the Marſhal, and another to Prince Waldeck, to inform them of the reſolution he had taken to retreat to Maeſtricht, whither he

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deſired they would follow in the beſt manner they could. Accordingly he called off the left wing, with which he retired orderly and ſlowly, and with them the heavy artillery, though theſe had been planted before the village of Val. The enemy cannonaded a little, but attempted nothing further, ſeeing the good order they were in, and knowing how greatly they themſelves had already ſuffered.

About five o'clock the Duke arrived at Maeſtricht, and at ſeven the Auſtrians and Dutch. The enemy ſeemed to have a mind to attack the Prince of Wolfenbuttle, who made the rear-guard; but after exchanging ſome ſmall ſhot, found it too difficult, and retired.

Such was the battle of Val, in which the Britiſh troops, with the Hanoverians and Heſſians, procured the greateſt honour and applauſe, having ſuſtained for almoſt five hours the repeated attacks of a ſuperior army, and retired unbroken at laſt. On their ſide were killed about 4930 men, among whom were 2110 of the Britiſh, with 382 horſes; 2435 of the Hanoverians, with 525 horſes; and of the Heſſians 385, with 176 horſes: there were alſo taken one thouſand priſoners; among whom were Sir John Ligonier, and Count Yſſemberg of the Heſſians, which laſt was wounded, as was Major-General Bland, and Lieutenant-General Drachtleben of the Hanoverians, with above 1000 ſubaltern officers of the different corps. The loſs of the French was much greater; the brigades of Navarre, La Marque, the Iriſh, Monaco, the Royal des Vaiſſeaux, and ſeveral others, were totally ruined, four lieutenant-generals were killed, with 1200 other officers, and 8000 men; 700 of the French were taken priſoners, with about 60 officers, among whom were the Brigadier Marquis de Blondel, and Colonel Dillon of the regiment of that name: they

likewiſe took five ſtandards, and ſeven pair of colours. Without dwelling any further upon particulars, his Royal Highneſs next day croſſed the Maeſe, in order to cover Maeſtricht, and the enemy without loſs of time proceeded to the ſiege of Bergenopzoom, a town advantageouſly ſituated upon the confines of Brabant, Flanders, Holland and Zealand, ſtrong by nature as well as art, on account of the moraſſes that ſurround it, and already famous for baffling the efforts of the Prince of Parma in 1588, and of the Marquis de Spinola, who loſt 10,000 men before it in 1622; nor would Louis XIV. riſk his glory in attacking it, anno 1672.

While the French army lay encamped at Tongres, the Count de Lowendahl, after ſeveral feints, appeared on the glacis of the place on the 12th of July, and began to draw a line of circumvallation round it; but notwithſtanding all his attention, the Prince of Saxe Hilburghauſen entered the lines with twenty battalions and fourteen ſquadrons, tho' to no purpoſe: the French were determined to have it, and nothing could reſiſt their deſtroying batteries: the poor peaſants were forced to work in their ditches, and driven by the enemy toward the ramparts of the town. Sometimes the firing was terrible, and many of the beſt buildings, with the ſteeples of the churches, were beat down. Baron Cronſtrom the governor, depending too much on the ſtrength of the place, was not at due pains to keep the outworks properly manned, except at the time when they were attacked. M. Lowendahl was convinced of the overſight, and therefore contrived to ſurprize the garriſon on the 11th of September: for this purpoſe he made great preparations all that day, as if he intended to begin the attack on the weſt quarter, while his real deſign was upon the ſouth eaſt. He had made ſome priſoners

ſoners from among the parties that had ſallied out of the town, and from theſe he had information of the real force of the garriſon: he knew the ſituation and ſtrength of their galleries, the number of their mines, and the caſemates to which the workmen reſorted. All at once about four in the morning a mine was ſprung before the ravelin of Dedem, while an immenſe quantity of bombs were thrown from all the batteries. In the mean time fifty companies of grenadiers, ſupported by ſixteen battalions, threw themſelves into the foſſe, and having cut off the communication between the outworks and the town, ſome attacked the ravelin of Dedem by the breach, whilſt others got into it from behind: there were but thirty men upon the gorge, and ſome of theſe retired without firing; others were taken priſoners, and were forced with ropes about their necks to conduct the aſſailants through the galleries, in one of which they ſurprized the workmen, killed ſome, and made others priſoners. At this very inſtant another party forced their way through the ſallee ports, ſcaled the walls of the town with their ladders, mounted the narrow breaches of the lunettes of Cucelle and Pohorn, and ſpread along the inner talus of the curtains as they arrived, while the firſt who entered proceeded to the market-place, where they were met by ſuch as edged through the galleries; the French colours were fixed in a moment; the Prince of Heſſe Philipſtal appeared with Collier's Scots regiment, and the Swiſs regiment of Deutz, in order to ſtop their progreſs. Theſe kept the aſſailants in play till the other corps belonging to the garriſon ſhould aſſemble; but they were overpowered, about 400 of Collier's were killed, with as many of Deutz, and the Prince himſelf was wounded in the leg; the garriſon was driven out of the town, and pur-

ſued to the gate of Steenbergen, which was immediately cloſed upon them; the troops in the lines followed, ſo that by ſix in the morning Bergenopzoom was wholly in the hands of the beſiegers; they ſeized upon the governor's papers, the military cheſt, all the cannon in the arſenal, and every thing that was valuable, and among others ſeventeen ſmall ſhips that had been ſent with proviſion for the garriſon. When the Grand Monarch heard of this important conqueſt, he came out of his cloſet next day, and being ſurrounded by a great number of general officers, he ſaid, "Bergenopzoom is taken, "Count Lowendahl is a Marſhal of France, and "M. Saxe is governor-general of the conquered "Netherlands."

But what was gained in the Netherlands was loſt in Italy and Provence; for it is obſervable, that every advantage in the Low Countries was balanced by ſome loſs in theſe parts. Genoa, which had been poſſeſſed and impoveriſhed by the Auſtrians, had from a love of liberty riſen up againſt their oppreſſors, and expelled them from the city, and almoſt from the other territories of the ſtate. The Court of France, from a motive of private intereſt, ſent the Duke de Boufflers with 8000 men to ſupport them: however, their wounds were too deep to be ſoon healed, and the ſuccours ſent them by ſea were frequently picked up by the Engliſh fleet which lay there to intercept them; the beautiful county of Provence was deſolated by Marſhal Brown's army, and on the 19th of July, juſt ſeventeen days after the battle of Lafelt, a brother of the Marſhal Belleiſle, one of the beſt engineers in Europe, loſt a great part of his army, and his own life alſo in attacking the Piedmonteſe, who were intrenched at the Collo di Tende in Piedmont near to Exilles: her colonies were expoſed,

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her commerce was at a ſtand, and her navy deſtroyed. In ſhort, the very name and reputation of France would have been ſunk, had it not been for her efforts in the Netherlands, or rather the diſagreement among thoſe, who led the troops in that quarter againſt her.

All the different powers at war were loſers thereby: France was impoveriſhed, and had loſt above 300,000 effective men in the courſe thereof: Great Britain had been drained of immenſe treaſures by ſupporting a land war; but theſe had been ſupplied from the vaſt captures that were made: the States General were in the moſt diſmal ſituation, being open to the inroads of an enemy, whoſe loſſes had rendered them ſtill more rapacious: one half of Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands was ravaged promiſcuouſly by friends and by enemies, when all of a ſudden a new turn was given to affairs by the miniſtry of France and of Great Britain, who at this time breathed the ſame ſentiments of humanity: the Earl of Cheſterfield and the Marquis de Puyſieux were both convinced, that a kingdom is more happy in time of peace than of war, be it ever ſo fortunate. How happy for a nation to have a man of conſideration and temper as a miniſter of ſtate!

The French Monarch always affecting a kind of moderation in the midſt of his ſucceſs, had ſignified already his inclination for peace to Sir John Ligonier, and declared his perſonal regard for his Brother Monarch. The Court of Great Britain, notwithſtanding her ſignal advantages, was not averſe to what might be of ſuch public utility; for at the meeting of the new Parliament, his Majeſty, in his ſpeech from the throne, after informing them, that the want of ſucceſs in the Netherlands was not owing to the Britiſh troops, he

told them, that propoſitions of peace were made him on the part of France, which he was not averſe to; the addreſſes from both Houſes were full of loyalty and affection, and expreſſed a pleaſure at hearing of the ſtep made toward a general pacification; and his Royal Highneſs arriving the day after the Parliament ſat, gave ſtill the more ſatisfaction; plenipotentiaries were appointed to meet at Aix la Chapelle as ſoon as conveniently they could.

This complacency on the part of France was not ſo much on account of a deſire of putting an end to the war, notwithſtanding the ruinous ſtate of her affairs, as from an apprehenſion that the new Parliament would act more vigorouſly than ever, and that the Ruſſians, when once joined with the Britiſh troops, would be more than a match for any armies which ſhe could ſend into the field: ſhe knew that nothing but a diſagreement among the Confederate generals had been the occaſion of her ſucceſs, and well foreſaw that the Ruſſians would be as much at the beck of his Royal Highneſs, as either the Royal or Electoral troops of his father. Prince Repnin was ready to ſet out on the 1ſt of January 1748, and actually began his march on the 6th with 30,000 men, beſides 7000 recruits to fill up the vacancies. They had a numerous artillery, with plenty of ammunition and military ſtores: they would have come by ſea to Lubeck, but the ice in thoſe parts hindered them; ſo that they took the rout of Lithuania and Poland, and would have ſoon been up with the grand army, had not the ceſſation of arms prevented it.

As the approach of the Ruſſians might influence the congreſs at Aix la Chapelle, and that his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland had croſſed over to Flanders in March 1748, ſo Marſhal Saxe endeavoured

deavoured to ballance this weight by a coup d'eclat, in reducing the town of Maeſtricht, the capital of Brabant, notwithſtanding it was defended by ſtrong forts, a numerous garriſon, a large and well-ſerved train of artillery, and had the allied army in its neighbourhood: to draw off which he ſent bodies of troops three different ways; one filed off toward Luxemburgh, another to Breda, a third toward Tongres, and a fourth toward Tirlemont; and, while every one was in ſuſpence where theſe were to meet, he ſat down before Maeſtricht with an army of 110,000 men, an irreſiſtible train of artillery and mortars, under the direction of the moſt experienced engineers. The States General remonſtrated againſt this as the conferences were ſoon to begin: and, after ſome arguments on both ſides, it was agreed, that the Ruſſians ſhould halt, that the French ſhould ſend back a number equal to that of the Ruſſians, and in the mean time to be put in poſſeſſion of Maeſtricht; which on the concluſion of the peace was to be reſtored, with all its artillery and magazines, on the faith of a Prince and the honour of a Chriſtian. This ſettled, the ſummer was ſpent in a ſtate of inactivity, and in Auguſt the conferences began, which terminated in a general peace, concluded and ſigned on the 7th of October, at Aix la Chapelle. By this treaty Lewis XV. ſecured the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to Don Carlos, grandſon of Lewis XIV. He ſettled his ſon-in-law Don Philip in Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla: and his ally the Duke of Modena, ſon-in-law to the Regent Duke of Orleans, was reſtored to his dominions. Genoa recovered all her rights; but it was a work of time before ſhe could recover the credit of her Bank, and the 5,000,000*l.* ſterling, of which ſhe had been fleeced.

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The Court of Great Britain neither loſt nor gained any territory, as Cape Breton was delivered back to France; and the Dutch had all their towns reſtored to them. In ſhort every thing was put in the ſame ſituation as at the beginning: only the King of Pruſſia preſerved the conqueſt of Sileſia, and the Queen of Hungary yielded to his Sardinian Majeſty a part of the Milaneſe: and, as in other caſes, the priſoners on both ſides were reſtored.

There was nothing in the peace diſhonourable to Britain but the circumſtance of ſending two hoſtages to the Court of France, until Cape Breton ſhould be reſtored; which was done in about eight weeks: and ſo ſoon as this news arrived of the delivering it up, the two hoſtages ſet out from Paris, notwithſtanding the declaration of the French King, that he would look upon it as a mark of his Britannic Majeſty's confidence, if they might be permitted to ſtay ſomewhat longer, as he expreſſed for them the higheſt perſonal honour and regard. The greateſt rejoicings were made at Paris and at London by fireworks, illuminations, and every other emblem of ſatisfaction; and on the day when the peace was proclaimed through the metropolis, his Majeſty appeared at the window, attended by his two Sons and a brilliant company of Nobles, lifted up the ſaſh, and was accoſted with loud and inceſſant acclamations. The Courts ſent ambaſſadors immediately to each other: the Earl of Albemarle was diſpatched from Great Britain to Paris, and the Marquis, afterwards Duke, de Mirepoix was ſent hither on the part of France.

The End of the NINTH BOOK.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

BOOK X.

CONTENTS.

The Conſequences of the Peace,—the Character of the Prince of Wales, *and of the Earl of* Crauford,—*the Hoſpitality of the Duke of* Cumberland,—*Account of the* Shetland *Fiſhery,—the Review of the* Hanoverians *on* Coxheath,—*and the Regulation with reſpect to* Chelſea Hoſpital.

AFTER the peace, his Royal Highneſs applied himſelf wholly to promote the welfare and happineſs of thoſe who had ſerved in the war. His Majeſty gave 50,000 *l.* out of his privy-purſe, toward ſupporting ſuch as ſhould be diſcharged, and recommended to his parliament to make proviſion for ſuch as had deſerved ſo well of their country. An act ſoon paſſed both for the benefit of ſoldiers and ſailors, by which they had liberty to ſettle and follow

follow buſineſs in any City, Town, or Corporation through England, except in the two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge: and to enlarge the proviſion ſtill more, the vaſt tract of ground known by the name of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, began to be peopled, by a colony ſent out on the Government's expence: a project which, however uninviting at firſt, on account of the piercing cold in that quarter, has, by the prudence and conduct of General Cornwallis and after governors, turned out to the great advantage and ſupport of many poor people who were ſtarving in their mother-country. The town of Hallifax, which but twenty years before was covered with wood to the very beach, is now a place of taſte, elegance, and commerce, and contains ten thouſand houſes, beſides arſenals and magazines: it is a ſtaple of trade for the fiſheries in North America; the country on each ſide of it is productive of wheat, rye, and every other grain; and, by the unanimous conſent of travellers, very rich mines of iron, of lead, and of coal, have been diſcovered there: ſo that in a few years that place, which was looked upon with indifference both by the Courts of France and Great Britain, will become as flouriſhing and wealthy as any other part on the northern diſtrict of the Britiſh empire. Many of thoſe who ſerved ſo well under his Royal Highneſs now live in eaſy and opulent circumſtances; and in an after war it has been ſeen, that a due attention paid to the right forming of an army in that particular part, has been the ground-work of thoſe laurels which adorned the Britiſh arms in that part of the world.

From this time the King gave his Royal Highneſs the ſole power of granting commiſſions, and doing every thing relative to the army in all the different departments of the Britiſh empire. It is obſervable,

obſervable, that he was always happy in the choice of his officers: and was particularly attentive to their reception in the regiment where they were appointed.

He had beſtowed a commiſſion upon a man's ſon who had done ſomething very agreeable to his Highneſs in the courſe of the rebellion: but the other officers not looking upon him as a gentleman, he was ſo far deſpiſed, that none of theſe would keep him company: his Highneſs was of a nobler way of thinking; he went one day to review them, and obſerving the ſlighted officer, he called him out, walked with him in the moſt familiar manner along the lines, ordering him to put on his hat, "as all ſoldiers ſerved the ſame Maſter, and all "officers bore the King's commiſſion equally." The other officers obſerving what was done, they from that time forward kept up the ſame correſpondence with the gentleman as with any other.

He took a delight in the company of old commanders, and ſuch as had ſeen foreign armies; and in a particular manner of the Earl of Crauford, who had made the art of war his ſtudy from his infancy. He had ſerved in the armies of Sweden, of Sardinia, of Germany, and England: he was full of courage and humanity, the moſt agile man in Europe before he received his wounds; the beſt ſwordſman, and never at a loſs for reſources in the midſt of the greateſt dangers. His Highneſs and he would be ſhut up together for hours in cloſe and ſerious converſation.

Of the different improvements in poſſeſſion of his lordſhip, nothing exceeded an invention, which though eaſy in itſelf now that it is found out, yet was never thought of till the beginning of this century, when Charles XII. of Sweden diſcovered it in Saxony, and ſhewed it to Marſhal Renchild, one

one of the ableſt of his generals. It was deduced from the ſame principles with the diverſion known by the name of the game at draughts in England. He had ordered twenty thouſand ſtatues of men in armour, each about ſix inches high, and formed in battalions or ſquadrons upon a board, to be caſt by a founder. He would ſet them upon a table oppoſite to each other, ſometimes ten againſt ten, five againſt fifteen, ſeven againſt thirteen, in all the different poſitions; and range them in the ſame manner in order of battle: and, as in the game at draughts, he would draw out a party from the wings or center, and ſhew the advantage or diſadvantage reſulting therefrom; would erect a hill, a village, a farm-houſe, or ſome ſuch incumbrance. The attention of his Highneſs was fixed the more cloſely, as he never had fought but againſt more numerous forces and a ſuperior artillery. From a greatneſs of ſoul, derived from the greateſt of fathers, did his Highneſs communicate the ſcheme to the King, who daily became more and more enamoured with Lord Crauford: ſo that on hearing that his death, which happened in November 1751, was occaſioned more from the narrowneſs of his circumſtances (the conſequence of the expenſive equipage which he kept when abroad) than from the breaking out of his wounds, he lamented the ſame with a becoming ſympathy, and ſaid, "Would "to God I had known the ſituation of his affairs, "for no money ſhould have been wanting toward "relieving ſo worthy and ſo great a man."

Never was a ſon more endearing to a father than the Duke of Cumberland; for being daily with him, he was in his anxieties a comfort, in his troubles an aſſiſtance, in his proſperity an honour and delight; in every thing was he aided by his happy genius, which was ever elevated, and ſwelling

ling with the greateſt deſigns: the circumſtance of being a ſon was not the greateſt of his recommendation; his virtues, which would have added luſtre to any character more than the ties of blood, prevailed on the heart of the King; who in March 1751 found a ſingular comfort in the time of a diſtreſs which every parent looks upon as of the moſt trying and ſerious kind.

At that time Frederic Prince of Wales, father to our preſent Sovereign, died ſuddenly at Leiceſter-houſe, in the forty-ſixth year of his age; leaving behind him five ſons and three daughters, a diſconſolate conſort and a child unborn. He was certainly a prince of a moſt amiable character; free, generous, open, gracious, and humane. The deaths of the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſoon followed, and the Queen of Denmark did not long ſurvive, for ſhe died in childbed in the December following. His Majeſty was comforted in the midſt of theſe afflictions by a Son who had fought his battles and ſupported his crown, ſo far as to look upon the deaths of theſe only as the forerunner of his own, and to be intirely reſigned to Him who gives and who takes away!

It is obſervable that men born with a military genius do, upon a receſs from war, apply themſelves to agriculture and improving the ground: to do which to the greateſt advantage his Highneſs retired to Windſor, the antient Reſidence of former Kings, and there he employed about five hundred different people, who otherwiſe muſt have been greatly diſtreſſed. He enlarged and cleanſed the canals, and added a new one, more grand and convenient than any of the former. He cauſed menageries to be built for animals which were ſent him from different nations, from the lion to the loweſt quadruped, and from the eagle to the meaneſt

reptile: feeders were appointed, and theſe had ſuitable ſalaries. He delighted much in horſe courſes, ſo as never to fail being at Newmarket, where his Highneſs kept open houſe during the time of the races: and in a few years had ſo fine a breed of horſes that the like were never ſeen in any one part of England before. The collection of ſhells, of metals, and of ores was no leſs valuable: and the encouragement which he gave to gardening rendered Windſor a nurſery for all kind of trees as good as any in the known world. His collection of curioſities was ineſtimable; the largeſt teleſcopes, microſcopes, and every other kind of optical glaſſes. His memory was ſo retentive that if he ever had ſeen a man he would have known him again: nay, I have heard it declared by the workmen about Windſor, that if he once had ſeen a horſe ploughing, though among many others, yet if he had come a ſecond time, though never ſo long after, he would have miſſed any of them, and would aſk the owner about it, even though ſupplied by one in its place.

But his application to things of curioſity did not take off his attention from what was moral and becoming; if ever he knew that a workman had uſed his wife ill, that man was ſure to be diſcharged; whatever children they brought with them were ſure of employment; if ever a ſoldier came to the lodge, he was ſure of entertainment, and of a preſent beſides. He delighted much in ſhewing hoſpitality to ſuch of the army as had fought under him; for when Barrel's regiment marched for Portſmouth, and through Windſor in their way to Gibraltar, he gave a general invitation to all the officers, whom he entertained in a ſplendid and magnificent manner in the great hall, while the private men had a ſubſtantial dinner prepared for them; beer, rum,

rum, and brandy were ſet upon the green for regaling them; and after all was over, each company was ordered ten guineas, he himſelf walking along their lines with the utmoſt complacency, and reminding them of their bravery upon Culloden field. And yet this aſſiduity in domeſtic affairs did not hinder his attention to public buſineſs; ſuch as being preſent at the proofs of new pieces at Woolwich, reviewing the troops, introducing among them an eaſier exerciſe, and ſometimes attending the meetings of the Antiquarian and Royal Societies; and notwithſtanding his good nature, yet he could not help reflecting on the impropriety of admitting people of no genius or application as members thereof: he laid himſelf out to promote the manufactories and fiſheries in the King's dominions; among which the white and herring fiſhery on the coaſt of Shetland; his brother the Prince of Wales became the firſt preſident of the ſociety for encouraging of it. An alarming ſcheme indeed to the States General, who gain about one million ſterling to their revenue yearly, and employ in networking, ſhipping, cooperage, and other branches neceſſary toward carrying it on, no leſs than 40,000 different perſons; ſo that ſuppoſing each to have a family of four perſons to maintain, then by this fiſhery no leſs are ſupported than 160,000 individuals.

The iſles of Shetland, the ancient patrimony of Denmark, was in 1469 looked upon with ſo little regard, as to be mortgaged for a ſmall ſum, payable as the portion of a Princeſs of Denmark married to King James III. of Scotland, and afterward to King James I. of England. In 1596 their poor were the moſt abject of mortals, the rich mines that ſurround them not being properly known; nor indeed was the intrinſic value diſcovered till about

the beginning of this century, when it was found that theſe northern ſeas contained as full and teaming a vintage as the verdant banks of the Thames.

To Arthur Nicholſon of Lochend, and Magnus Henderſon of Gairdie, was owing the wonderful diſcovery; the former had as extenſive a genius for trade as any merchant in Europe, and the latter, not to mention a dignified and majeſtic aſpect, which even diſtinguiſhed him among the great, and by which he was admired at the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Peterſburgh, did not ſo much enoble him as this great and important event: his ſkill in the Dutch and Swediſh languages, his alertneſs in the French, the German, and Italian tongues, with the more refined accompliſhments of the underſtanding, did not ſo much enoble him, as a goodneſs of heart, which never looked upon the poor without feeling for them: the relief of thoſe who were ſtarving amidſt the moſt exuberant plenty, more than any perſonal intereſt, prompted him to enquire into all the articles that might promote the herring, the cod, the ling, and the tuſk fiſheries.

Theſe amiable gentlemen began with ſending out a few laſts of fiſh to Hamburgh, and in time ſhipped off ſeveral veſſels with fiſh and oil to Genoa, Leghorn, and other ports of Italy, and all the Hanſe towns: a politeneſs and generoſity to ſtrangers drew many to ſettle in theſe remote places: their punctual payments rendered their bills inconteſtible on every Exchange, while their kindneſs, which was always ſincere, procured them an univerſal applauſe. Many houſes have been erected through the iſland in the moſt elegant taſte, adorned with the richeſt furniture, and the poor have had bread; but all theſe have ſhared the calamities of war for want of the countenance of government. Here

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the French land with impunity, and ſtrip men, women, and children; their privateers ride in ſafety to wait the arrival of our ſhips from the Eaſt Indies, and from Greenland.

What pity that this fiſhery was not properly encouraged, ſince the cod and ling in theſe ſeas are preferable to what is caught upon the banks of Newfoundland, and can much ſooner be carried to the markets of Italy.

Whatever was of public utility engroſſed the care of his Highneſs; and obſerving the impropriety of reckoning time by the old ſtile, he promoted the bill for altering it to the new, in conformity with other nations; and accordingly it commenced in England on the 3d of September 1752, which was called the 14th.

In 1753 he diſcovered ſome uneaſineſs at naturalizing the Jews; for looking upon them as a ſtrolling people, without King, without Prieſt, and without Prophet, he judged any encouragement of them to be hurtful to a commercial ſtate, and in time to bid fair for joſtling out the Chriſtian religion.

It was not till the year 1754, when Mr. Pelham, the grand promoter of the naturalization bill, died. In conſequence of the death of this prime miniſter, there aroſe a number of candidates, who wanted to ſupply his room; the moſt conſpicuous of whom was Henry Fox, Eſq; and Mr. Pitt, formerly named. The encroachments of the French upon the back ſettlements in North America were then at firſt talked of, and individuals began to complain: a rupture with France was eaſily foreſeen, and the queſtion was, what way to prepare beſt againſt any event, as the militia was not properly armed. Some were for bringing over a body of regular troops as the beſt ſecurity, while others laughed at the

propoſal as inconſiſtent with the dignity of the crown, and an uſeleſs expence to the ſubject. Mr. Fox had eſpouſed the firſt opinion, and Mr. Pitt had adopted the latter. The winter of the year 1754 was ſpent in arguments and conſultations; however the party of Mr. Fox prevailed. About 10,000 Hanoverians and 6000 Heſſians came over in the next ſummer, the firſt being ſtationed at Coxheath in Kent, and the other at Chatham and other places: they looked extremely well, and were obliged to obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline. The Generals Kilmanſegg and Sporcken took care that every thing ſhould be agreeable to the people, and theſe in return took a pride in doing offices of generoſity and kindneſs to the troops. His Royal Highneſs went down to the camp, where he reviewed them with the utmoſt ſeriouſneſs and attention upon the 28th of September 1755. Though Coxheath be one of the moſt wholſome places in England, and is no leſs ſpacious and convenient than Wyehill, or any other place of appointment for farmers and planters, yet it never appeared with ſuch luſtre as on that day. The country people ſhew with a kind of pleaſure, bordering upon admiration, the very place where his Highneſs ſtood during the time of the review. The troops went through all the evolutions of the military exerciſe before him with ſurprizing alacrity; ſo that the moſt ſtrenuous in the oppoſition to calling in foreign troops could not help acknowledging the order, regularity and decorum which the whole corps of Hanoverians and Heſſians obſerved. The diſputes about them ſoon ſubſided, as they were ſoon called over to the continent, where France brought on a war, in which his Royal Highneſs expected to have an opportunity of engaging the enemy upon more equal terms than hitherto, both

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as the troops under his command would be more numerous, and as by his many generous and princely actions he had procured their entire and univerſal good-will, having intereſted himſelf in rectifying the abuſes that had crept into the public charities, and ſet the moſt brilliant and laudable example of humanity and goodneſs toward the private men, as will beſt appear from the following example.

Among many uſeful and diſtinguiſhing foundations in Great Britain, there is none which deſerves more to be admired than that of Greenwich for decayed ſeamen, and that of Chelſea for ſuch as have ſerved their country by land. It was firſt begun by King Charles II. who was the man to lay the firſt ſtone thereof. King James II. proſecuted the work, and ſucceeding Sovereigns have gloried in enlarging the charity. Lord Ranelagh and other nobles have imitated the example of their Kings, and it has been generally among the firſt articles of the Parliament's buſineſs to make proviſion for the ſame.

Such as lived in the houſe, and were under the immediate inſpection of a governor and proper officers, were abundantly happy; but indeed the out-penſioners were moſt cruelly and miſerably abuſed by a number of uſurers, ſome of them publicans, whoſe frauds and impoſitions were even ſhocking to humanity.

By the ſtatutes of the legiſlature every out-penſioner was to receive 7*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* *per annum*, a noble help indeed toward the ſupport of a poor man, when grown old in the ſervice of the government; but which was moſtly engroſſed by a falſe and odious ſet of men.

The poor creatures were generally impoſed upon when in liquor, notes of hand were ſolicited from

them, and theſe ſhewn when they came to aſk for what was their own; if they offered to complain they were browbeat by a volley of oaths, curſes, and imprecations, and threatened to be turned altogether off the liſt: ſometimes the name of a juſtice of peace would be forged to a certificate, atteſting a penſioner to be alive, when he was really dead; and by this method his money might be taken up for ſeven or eight years: the miſerable creatures were by their diſmal appearance, owing to the cruel rod of their oppreſſors, a diſgrace to the public, many of them being obliged to beg, while their uſurers were feaſting upon what ſhould have ſuſtained them; and in theſe and ſuch like ways did theſe unworthy men proceed in their wickedneſs, till by the ſuperintendency of an all-powerful and watchful Providence the matter came to an end.

One day the Earl of Rothes met a penſioner, who aſked charity of him; which his Lordſhip, however willing to ſuccour the needy upon every occaſion, heſitated at that time to beſtow; and finding by the man that his uſurer was the cauſe of his misfortune, his Lordſhip ſent for the dealer, and confronted him with the penſioner. The evaſions of the one could not ſtand againſt the innocent and poſitive aſſertions of the other; and ſo his Lordſhip withdrew, and that very afternoon waited on his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland with an account of what had paſſed upon the occaſion. He was heard with complacency; a ſcheme was immediately formed for putting a ſtop to the iniquitous practice; he even ſpoke to ſeveral members to ſecond the motion for bringing in the bill whenever the ſame ſhould be made; Mr. Pitt introduced it into the Houſe of Commons; the officers of the army, who were members, ſeconded it with a becoming eloquence; arguments

guments flowed in its favour from every mouth, and the daily objects of misery rendered these irresistible: so that it soon passed into a law, the poor men were delivered from their oppressors, who had carried matters to such a degree of insolence, that the very people who lived upon the spot were refused payment of their pension, and with an authoritative contempt were ordered to apply to their usurer, who at most paid only six guineas for the 7*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* while others gave only 5*l.* or by their dilatoriness obliged the poor wretches to squander the better part of it in liquor, and in their own houses.

The practice of usury being put down gave such satisfaction, that in the war which was now breaking out the people wanted only an opportunity to serve under his Highness's command.

The boundaries of the French and British empires not having been properly settled, gave rise to mutual claims, complaints, and blows; which last began with the defeat of M. Washington. A piece of ground, which a Quaker of the name of Jeffreys wanted to improve, as lying contiguous to him, was the source of a bloody and terrible war. Matters might soon have been compromised, had it not been for the ambition of the Court of France, which from the conclusion of the last peace had been preparing for another rupture.

Scarce was the treaty of Aix la Chapelle signed, when she purchased from the Court of Sweden a squadron of twenty men of war, with vast quantities of materials, such as iron, plank, deal, cordage, and tar, with other articles necessary for ship-building; many merchant-ships were fitted out at Gottenburgh and Carelscrona; and to reinstate her marine still more, vast quantities of wood were cut in the Pyrenean forest, in which the different

parts

parts of a ſhip's fabric were prepared, and afterward conducted to Marſeilles, Rochfort, and Breſt, nay even to St. Maloes itſelf, where the carpenters had only to join them. As after the peace of Utrecht ſhe recovered herſelf, and ſoon became more flouriſhing; the States of Italy being divided among the branches of her Houſe, were more ready to take the furs and fiſh caught upon the banks of Newfoundland from the French than from Britiſh merchants.

In conſequence of the melancholy advices daily received of the ſituation of our back ſettlements in North America, the King ſent a meſſage to his Parliament by Sir Thomas Robinſon, one of his Secretaries of State, intimating the neceſſity of augmenting their forces, and preparing their marine. Braddock was ſent to Virginia with a body of troops, conſiſting of 1500 men; he marched with theſe to Fort Du Queſne, where he fell into an ambuſh, and on the 9th of July was defeated and killed. A very unlucky circumſtance for Admiral Boſcawen, who, notwithſtanding he and Admiral Moſtyn had been ſent out with twenty-four men of war, and had taken two French ſhips of the line, yet they could not entirely remedy that diſaſter: that affair was not properly rectified till September, when General Johnſon gave a total defeat to the French, and took General Dieſkau priſoner. As the blows were mutual, the French ambaſſador withdrew from the Court of London without taking leave, and the Earl of Albemarle dying at Paris of a ſurfeit, which he had contracted at a ſupper in company with the Duke de Montmorenci a ſhort time before; the two Courts were liable to be impoſed upon by miſrepreſentation and falſhood. By the advice of the Duke of Newcaſtle the French merchantmen continued to be

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ſeized both in Europe and in America, while the Court of France, affecting a kind of moderation for eight months, ſuffered the Britiſh veſſels to trade unmoleſted in their ports; but in the mean time they marched their troops to the Mediterranean, to the channel, and to the ocean, and in March 1756 the Duke de Choiſeul, then Prime Miniſter of France, wrote a letter to Mr. Fox, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, requiring the reſtitution of the ſhips that had been taken by Admiral Boſcawen, whom he charged with piracy, and uſed ſuch other expreſſions, as plainly ſhewed that the Court of France was intent upon a rupture.

Neither France nor Spain can be at war with Great Britain, but the ſhock, in whatever part it is given, muſt be felt even at the remoteſt place of the globe; if the induſtry and boldneſs of our modern nations have in any reſpect the advantage over the reſt of the world, and over all antiquity, it is certainly in defenſive and offenſive fortification, and in our naval expeditions. The Manillas beyond China, and the Gulph of Mexico, have at one and the ſame time been viſited; the moſt powerful empires have been ſpectators of a ſkilful fury, which they have not attained; in Africa is the diſpute about ſlaves, and in Europe the ſword is ſometimes drawn for promoting luxury and extravagance.

Scarce was the coal of diſſention kindled in North America, till the blaze extended to Europe, and in a ſhort time ſet all her States in a flame. France begun with ſending the Duke de Richlieu with an army of 20,000 regular troops to take Minorca, and to reduce the ſtrong fortreſs of St. Philip. General Blakeney, whoſe good fortune had triumphed over the Pretender in Scotland, ſunk

ſunk under that of the Duke de Richlieu; the ſtrong reinforcement deſtined to ſuccour Blakeney had been prevented by the fleet under Admiral Galiſſoniere from entering the iſland; Admiral Byng had fought, conquered, and retreated on the 20th of May; and General Blakeney ſuffered the fort to be taken by ſurprize on the night of the 29th of June thereafter. The Admiral and the General in their turn had both fought, but were not equally rewarded; for Byng was ſhot to death *, and Blakeney was created an Iriſh Peer for his bravery. And now France had recourſe to the ſtratagem of involving Great Britain in a land war upon the continent; and accordingly war was declared by Great Britain on the 18th of May, and by France on the 16th of June thereafter; and in the mean time the States General embraced a neutrality.

For this purpoſe a league offenſive and defenſive was concluded at Paris, on the 14th of May 1756, between the Courts of Verſailles and of Vienna; between which laſt and Courts of Peterſburgh and Dreſden there was a treaty, brought about by the policy and addreſs of France, for ſtripping the King of Pruſſia of ſuch parts of his dominions as lay contiguous to theſe reſpective powers.

* His charge was for not having, according to the 12th article of war, done his utmoſt to deſtroy the enemy's ſhips on the day of the engagement. After a trial, which laſted fourteen days, he was found guilty; but ſome circumſtances appearing favourable to the court-martial, they earneſtly recommended him to mercy: a ſentence which the King referred to the conſideration of his Parliament, which, after very long debates, at which the Duke of Cumberland was ſometimes preſent, but never offered to ſpeak, was confirmed; and accordingly the Admiral was ſhot at Portſmouth on board the Magnanime, March 14, 1757.

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The North of Germany was ſoon in a flame. The King of Pruſſia marched into Saxony, Auguſt the 28th, and reduced the ſtrong camp at Pirna, and the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies, October 1ſt, cut each other in pieces at Lowitſchutz; the beautiful city of Prague was once more beſieged by a numerous army and a terrible artillery; at Kollin the Pruſſian monarch was obliged to yield to the ſuperior ſkill and conduct of Count Daun: and, to ſpread the flames of war ſtill further, a French army, of 110,000 men, marched toward Hanover, under the command of the Marſhal Count d'Etrees, one of the beſt officers in France. He had been formed under the old Duke de Villars; was acquainted with all the feints and ſtratagems of war, had fought at Fontenoy, Rocoux, and Lafelt: he was an officer of conſummate prudence and diſcretion, endowed with all the qualifications of a great general; ſedate in his temper, ſtrict in his behaviour, cool in his proceedings, wiſe in his conduct, and ſtated in his ſchemes: more dangerous after a defeat than an ordinary general after a victory; fit indeed to conduct an army; capable of repairing by his wiſdom what ſeemed irreparable, and endowed with ſo large a ſhare of virtue as to procure the eſteem and veneration of the troops under his command, which at this time were the very flower of the French army; there ſcarcely being a ſingle man among them who was not an hardy veteran. Nor is it the leaſt of the Duke of Cumberland's praiſe that the Court of France ſhould ſend out ſo well appointed a body of troops againſt a much leſs numerous corps under the command of his Highneſs.

As the French army advanced toward Weſtphalia, ſo the Duke of Cumberland, who had croſſed the ſea to head the Hanoverian army, thought pro-

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per to march to the eaſt ſide of the Weſer, in order to incommode them in their rout, and actually would have made a ſtand and given them battle, had the forces under him bore any proper proportion to thoſe of the enemy. He had no more than 36,000 men, and many of theſe had never ſeen an engagement. He had indeed endeavoured to get a body of 10,000 of the national Britiſh troops; but the Britiſh miniſtry would not conſent to the demand: he even aſked but three regiments, and at laſt came ſo low as to deſire no more than his own dragoons, which were abſolutely refuſed.

To deal with ſo ſuperior an army was a taſk of no little importance, and which none but a commander of penetration and ſagacity was equal to. The French forces were even aſſiſted by the ſubjects of the States General in their march to the Weſer, by bringing them proviſion and other neceſſaries. It was not till the middle of June 1757 that they reached the banks of the Weſer, which ſeparates Weſtphalia from Hanover. The Duke of Cumberland retreated over the river, as the other advanced.

To croſs a river in the face of an enemy, or to prevent a paſſage over it, has been looked upon as one of the moſt arduous taſks of a general: the French frequently endeavoured it by a bridge of boats; but the Duke's batteries were ſo placed as to command the fords, and to flank each other; and iron ſpikes were driven into the bed of the ſtream. The Count d'Etrees, the Duke of Orleans, and the Duke de Griſors went up to an high mountain, whence they ſurveyed the Hanoverian camp and the adjacent country. The intelligence which his Highneſs received was ſo good, that wherever the enemy intended to croſs there was a ſtrong party, with a large battery of cannon and mortars,

to

to oppoſe them. At laſt, on the night of the 20th of July, the Marquis d'Armentieres effected a landing twenty miles from their grand army, with fourteen thouſand men and ten pieces of cannon, in order to draw the army from the river and to raiſe contributions: the cavalry ſoon followed, and the infantry haſtened as faſt as poſſible, croſſing as they arrived. His Highneſs endeavoured to get betwixt them and the capital, and to prevent their ſeizing upon the copper mines, which are very conſiderable in theſe parts: for this he took up his quarters at a village called Haſtenbeck, where the French army came in view of him on the 25th, about ſix in the evening: and towards eight the two armies fronted each other, a moraſs being only between them: that night they cannonaded each other very ſmartly, and next day the action began. The Duke's army was ſupported by batteries on each of the wings and in the center, and beſides all this there was a battery of ſeven pieces of cannon placed upon the left wing, a little inclining toward the enemy, forming a right angle with the extremity of the line: it was ſupported by ten battalions, under the command of General Sporcken, and greatly annoyed the enemy: whoſe diſpoſitions were eaſy and free, having the infantry in the center and the cavalry in the wings. For two hours the cannonading continued with great fury: the two armies ſtill drawing nearer to each other, when the firing from the ſmall arms began from right to left, and became general. The victory hung in ſuſpence for two hours; the Duke of Cumberland being in the hotteſt places of the action, animating the troops with his voice, his hand, and his example; and the Generals Kilmanſeg, Zaſtrow, and Dulemback were at the head of the lines, and inſpired the different bodies under their reſpective commands.

mands. The Count d'Etrees, the Duke de Orleans, and the Count de Broglio did the ſame on the ſide of the French; and all at once the Duke de Griſors, ſon to the Marſhal de Belleiſle, fetched an half compaſs round the eminence whereon the battery under General Sporcken was placed: he brought up a ſuperior artillery againſt it, and twice the number of troops that ſupported it. The criſis of the battle turned upon what could be done here: the Duke of Cumberland ſent three battalions from the reſerve to ſupport thoſe under General Sporcken; but too late, for the battery was taken, and the guns were turned againſt the Hanoverians. In this ſituation his Highneſs judged proper to ſound a retreat, which was effected with as much order and regularity as if no diſaſter had befallen them: and, what is pretty ſingular, they were not purſued.

Such was the battle of Haſtenbeck, which determined the fate of Hanover, and in which there were five thouſand killed on the ſide of the Allies, and ſeven thonſand on that of the French, who likewiſe took about a thouſand priſoners, and the ſeven pieces of cannon formerly named. His Highneſs did not retire with precipitation; but in ſo cool and ſedate a manner as to order out parties for carrying off the beſt and moſt valuable effects both of the King his father and of the principal Inhabitants of the Electorate, to the moſt commodious place of ſafety. Stadt was the place fixed on, and thither the archives, the plate, the mint, nay and the fine ſet of horſes belonging to the ſtables of Herenhauſen, were ſoon conveyed, as to a place of the greater ſafety; and, to be ſtill more ſecure, an Engliſh ſhip of twenty guns was ſent to bring over the plate, the money, and the jewels of the Electoral palace into England.

By the way of Bremen, Verden, and Carlſtat did the Hanoverian and Heſſian army retire, and were followed at a ſlow pace by the numerous forces of France; ſometimes they were pretty near each other; but the ſuperiority of numbers, and the vaſt diſproportion between the artillery of either, ſtill hindered an engagement: nor was the French general deſirous of waſting his troops by a battle againſt forces who were every day more and more enraged, and under the direction of ſo great and ſo illuſtrious a commander, whoſe ears were every day wounded by the cries of women and orphans, earneſtly beſeeching that an end might be put to the war.

After a continued march of one month, his Royal Highneſs arrived at Stadt, a ſtrong fortification near the Elbe, and ſubject to the Electorate of Hanover. Frederic V. King of Denmark, did not chuſe ſuch powerful armies to be in his neighbourhood, and the Republic of Hamburgh applied for the protection of the Court of Vienna in the midſt of the dangers that threatened. The former ſent word to his ambaſſador both at Paris and at London, offering his mediation, that things might not come to extremities, and in the mean time adverti ſed the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke de Richlieu (which laſt had come to ſuperſede the Count d'Etrees) of the ſteps he had taken. All at once the hands of theſe great commanders were tied, a ceſſation of arms for twelve days took place, at the end whereof a courier arrived from France, accepting the mediation of Denmark, and ſoon after a Letter from the King of Great Britain, deſiring that his Highneſs would enter into a convention, for the preſervation of Hanover and the ſtates depending thereon. After ſeveral days conferences between the deputies on the part of France, Den-

mark, and Hanover, an agreement was drawn up, in order to be ſigned by his Royal Highneſs on the one hand, and by the Marſhal de Richlieu on the other. Accordingly theſe two great commanders met in an antichamber at a gentleman's ſeat called Cloſter Severn. Richlieu paid the ſame compliments to him as if he had been at London or at Kenſington: he began with theſe words; "Your "Highneſs and I are not enemies: I always en- "tertained the higheſt ſenſe of your merit and great "abilities, and now that I have the honour of be- "ing in your preſence, nothing could give me "more pleaſure than an opportunity of doing what "might be agreeable to you." The Duke heard him with a ſeeming complacency, and on the 28th of September the convention was ſigned, firſt by his Highneſs and then by the M. de Richlieu: who no ſooner heard that the Hanoverians had diſbanded than he made a demand upon Hamburgh for 100,000 *l.* The principal article of the agreement was, That the Hanoverians and Heſſians, compoſing the army under the command of his Royal Highneſs, ſhould retire to their own houſes, with their arms; that they were to be ſafe in their perſons, properties, and eſtates, and not to ſerve againſt France during the courſe of the war: and that the French were immediately to quit the Electorate.

Things being thus ſettled, the Hanoverians and Heſſians were diſbanded, and the Duke of Cumberland, after paying a viſit to the Court of Pruſſia, (in which he laid open the letter and ſpirit of the late convention) returned to England, where the King his father, however fond at other times, diſcovered a kind of reſerve toward him: however, fidelity and a good conſcience ſupported his Highneſs: he convinced the King of the uprightneſs of

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his conduct; but declined ever after to take upon him any principal command. He told his Majeſty, that though there was a difference betwixt the Sovereign and his General, which might be owing to a miſapprehenſion on the ſide of the one, and to too hearty an inclination to obey on the ſide of the other, yet that was no reaſon why any difference ſhould exiſt between a father and a ſon. His Highneſs indeed had much to ſay, and yet he contented himſelf with ſaying very little: he accuſed no body, he complained of no body, notwithſtanding he had all the reaſon in the world to complain; for had his plan been purſued, Hanover would have been ſooner rid of her enemies than ſhe actually was. His Highneſs had fought an army three times as numerous as his own, and at laſt retreated unbroken. Perhaps ſince the retreat of Marſhal Turenne at Mariendal, or of Count Schulemberg, who eluded the fortune of Charles XII. and King Staniſlaus, there has not been a more honourable retreat than that performed by the Duke of Cumberland from the plains of Haſtenbeck: and now he wanted an opportunity of engaging them at a more convenient ſeaſon. From his uſual ſagacity he foreſaw, that as winter was approaching, the national troops of France muſt moulder away: he had ſent expreſs after expreſs to the King of Pruſſia for a ſingle body of ten thouſand men; but that Monarch, if willing, had his hands ſo full that he could not anſwer the demand: however, this did not diſhearten him; his intention was to march by the way of Harburg and Lunenburgh to the Weſer, in order to cut off any ſupplies that might come to M. de Richlieu; who in that event might be expoſed to the fire of an ally and of the Hanoverians at a convenient ſeaſon: but of all this the convention deprived him.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

BOOK XI.

CONTENTS.

The Hanoverians *take up Arms,—Battles in* Saxony, Sileſia, *and* Weſtphalia,—*Monſ.* Buſſy's *Negotiation,—the Operations of the* Britiſh *Fleet in* Europe *and* Aſia,—*Death of King* George II.—*the Acceſſion, Marriage, and Coronation of King* George III.—*Origin of the Paper called* The North Briton.—*The Character of* J. Wilkes—*The Death of the Duke of* Cumberland.—*His Elogium.*

AFTER the convention he never appeared on the theatre of action: but yet aſſiſted in contriving all the plans of operation that were laid down for bringing the war to a ſpeedy concluſion: for by his advice five regiments were raiſed from among the Scots Highlanders, one of which was committed to Simon Frazer, eldeſt ſon of Lord Lovat,

Lovat, whoſe whole life was one continued ſcene of contradiction and impropriety. There was one from Roſs, two from Argyleſhire, and one from Caithneſs and Sutherland. The two firſt were moſtly made up of thoſe people who had been in the rebellion 1745, and were animated by the late act of parliament diſſolving the vaſſalage and ſervitude, of which the Clergy took care to inform them: enraged at the perfidy of the French in leading them into ſuch ſloughs of difficulty and hardſhip, they heartily engaged in the cauſe of their country; and, without any murmuring, appeared ready to bear arms where their ſervice might be moſt deſired.

Theſe adventurers wanted an opportunity of atoning for the guilt which unluckily they had contracted, and the rather as they were told, that they had been raiſed by the advice of the Duke of Cumberland. In this diſpoſition of mind they were conducted to Nova Scotia in the latter end of the year 1757; and from the moment of their landing at Hallifax became the inſtruments of procuring the moſt ſubſtantial advantages, and contributed as much as any one corps of the King's army toward obtaining the laurels which adorned the Britiſh ſtandards in the years 1758 and 1759. In the reduction of Louiſburgh they behaved with uncommon alertneſs and intrepidity; they braved the ſeaſons and the ſword at Martinico and Guadaloupe in April 1758. On the 25th of July 1759 they aſſaulted camps and ſtormed armies at Ticonderoga, where our troops were repulſed, and the gallant Colonel Townſhend was killed. They climbed up rocks and precipices at Quebec when it fell by the Britiſh arms on the 18th of September thereafter*. The repulſe which the army met with on the 13th, when the French lines were attacked, only tended

* Here fell the brave General Wolf, greatly lamented.

to inflame their courage. On the 28th of April 1760, when the French endeavoured to retake Quebec, they performed prodigies of valour; they dyed their ſwords in the blood of our enemies, and were only fought down by the ſuperiority of numbers, aſſiſted by the regiment of Rouſillon. They beat their aſſailants in a ſecond encounter; and following them to Montreal, the place of their rendezvous, they by the reduction thereof finiſhed the conqueſt of North America: and when the war broke out with Spain, they not only behaved with their uſual fortitude and intrepidity at the Havannah in Auguſt 1762, but likewiſe upon the confines of Portugal. So hearty was the Scots nation in the ſervice of their country, that the antiquated diſtinction of Lowlanders and Highlanders was laid aſide: the antipathy between theſe gave place to the common zeal for promoting the glory of the kingdom. Near one-half of theſe Highland regiments conſiſted of men from the Lowlands of Scotland; and from theſe parts were about ſeventy thouſand men in the ſervice of the Government.

But North America was not more the ſcene of action than Senegal and Goree on the coaſt of Africa, both of which were taken in the courſe of this commercial war, which all this time was raging in the North of Germany with uncommon fierceneſs and devaſtation, not only between the armies of France, and thoſe of his Britannic Majeſty, but likewiſe between the Allies of both.

The empire of Germany, from the time of the King of Pruſſia's irruption into Saxony, which had been twice conquered, and twice regained in the courſe of three years, was in the moſt diſmal ſituation. In the year 1758 it was for ſeveral months ravaged by no leſs than eight armies, one of theſe commanded by the Marſhal Duke de Richlieu,

another

another under the command of the Prince Saxe-hilburghauſen and the Prince of Soubiſe, a third under Prince Charles of Lorrain and Count Daun, a fourth under the Duke of Bevern, a fifth army of Ruſſians under M. Apraxin, a ſixth of Swedes, commanded by Field Marſhal Ungern Sternberg, a ſeventh of Pruſſians, and the eighth was compoſed of the troops of Hanover and Heſſe-Caſſel, to whom, in a ſhort time after, a body of 20,000 of the national Britiſh troops were afterward joined. All theſe, except the laſt two, were at war with the King of Pruſſia, who had battles with each of them, and in which there was ſpilt abundance of blood.

Hanover and Heſſe-Caſſel, with the countries of Weſtphalia and Paderborn, had already found to their ſmart that an enemy was in their boſom. From the time the French army croſſed the Rhine, and had acceſs to Eaſt Frizeland, and the other territories of the King of Pruſſia, their ſupport and maintenance became exceeding eaſy to them; the adjacent countries, except ſuch as belonged to the States of Holland, were on ſome pretext or other laid under contribution. No ſooner was the conqueſt of Hanover effected, than proviſions and forage of all kinds abounded in the French camp; horſes were taken up for remounting their cavalry, whole regiments of dragoons were ſupplied with them, their German regiments were recruited, exceſſes of the worſt kind were committed upon the eſtates of the burghers and landed gentlemen, and the country was ſo harraſſed, that the peaſants choſe rather to die with their ſwords in their hands, than to be expoſed to all the hardſhips of a rapacious enemy; they only wanted an opportunity of taking up arms to free them from their oppreſſors,

which ſoon was given them, and this by an inſtrument, from whom it was leaſt expected.

The Electorate of Saxony, ſo famous for the induſtry and trade of her inhabitants, now bled under the ſword of a neighbouring potentate: the peaſants and burghers were harraſſed every where, and treated with all the rigour of a conqueror: the Saxon army, which had rendezvouſed at Pirna, in order to wait for the ſuccours from Count Brown's army, had been compelled to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war before the arrival of the reinforcement; and the King of Poland, on the 12th of October, retired with his favourite Count Bruhl to Warſaw, leaving his Electorate to the mercy of an enraged enemy, who triumphed every where, except in Dreſden, where the Queen of Poland ſtill reſided with her family.

To recover Saxony was no leſs a pretext to France for marching her armies into Germany, than the treaty of Weſtphalia, of which ſhe repreſented herſelf to be the guarantee. The Duke de Richlieu ſent the Prince de Soubiſe with an army of 36,000 men to join the army of execution * under the Duke de Saxehilburghauſen, in order to diſlodge the Pruſſians. By the neareſt rout they approached toward Leipſic, of which M. Keith was governor, and on the 1ſt of November ſummoned him to ſurrender the town, which being refuſed, they broke ground before it within two hundred yards of the glacis, and in the mean time ſent parties about the country to raiſe contributions, eſpecially from among thoſe who were in the Pruſſian intereſt.

His Pruſſian Majeſty, being advertiſed of the danger of Leipſic, haſtened to its relief, and on

* An army conſiſting of the troops of different German princes for ſecuring their territories.

the

the 5th of November, when at a village called Roſbach, he gave the enemy a total defeat, taking all their baggage and artillery, killing 4000 men, and taking 6000 priſoners, among whom were eight generals, and 250 ſubaltern officers, and this only with the loſs of 300 men killed, and as many wounded, among whom were Prince Henry, the King's brother, with the Generals Pelitz and Muneike.

Never did an army appear in a more ſhattered and miſerable condition than that of the Allies, particularly the French after the battle of Roſbach. Few of them retained their ſwords, many of them wanted hats and ſhoes, their clothes were ragged, and, to complete their diſaſter, the country people either knocked them on the head, or refuſed them the common acts of humanity, while the inclemency of the weather made havock of the remainder.

From this time the troops, which compoſed the army of the empire, liſted in the Pruſſian regiments, while the ſervice of the French ſoldiers was abſolutely and ſcornfully refuſed; their only ſafety was to fly toward the reinforcements that were ſent by Marſhal Richlieu to relieve them. The battle of Roſbach was juſt a month before that of Liſſa in Sileſia, whither the King of Pruſſia repaired with nineteen battalions, and thirty-three ſquadrons, in order to retake Breſlau, and to relieve the Prince of Bevern, who, on the 23d of November, was defeated and taken priſoner. About one o'clock on the 5th of December, the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies had a view of each other, and ſoon came to a general action, in which the former had 12,000 men killed, 14,000 wounded, and 21,000 taken priſoners, moſt of whom liſted in the King of Pruſſia's ſervice; they loſt about 240 pieces of cannon, all their tents, ammunition, and military ſtores, and,

what was ſtill more, Breſlau and the other towns in Sileſia, except Schweidnitz, ſurrendered to the conqueror, who, from this time, poured in his forces upon Bohemia, the half of which was ſoon reduced to his obedience.

Thus in the ſpace of thirty days the force of the Houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon was broken; the Ruſſians had already retired from the frontiers of Brandenburgh for want of proviſion; the Swedes, who fought againſt their will, had retreated from before a ſuperior army to Straelſund; a military ſpirit daily diffuſed itſelf through the ſubjects of Pruſſia, and, to crown all, a change in the Britiſh miniſtry had taken place; Mr. Pitt and his party had got the better of Mr. Fox and the Duke of Newcaſtle; the old Lord Chancellor Hardwicke had reſigned, the conſequence of which was, that the Pruſſian monarch had an annual ſubſidy granted him of 670,000 *l.* to be paid at two terms without diſcount.

So large a ſubſidy, and his late ſucceſſes, impowered him to ſend Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick with a detachment of 20,000 men into Hanover to cover Saxony on that ſide, and to watch the motions of the French, whom he now conſidered as his enemy.

Prince Ferdinand was perhaps one of the moſt cool and deliberate commanders that had appeared in Germany for many years; he was a lieutenant-general in the Pruſſian ſervice, and nephew to the Pruſſian Monarch. He publiſhed a manifeſto as he approached the confines of Hanover, inviting all who had any regard for their country, or for the Proteſtant religion, to join him in taking up arms againſt the enemies of both. The people, conſidering the flagrant breach of the convention on the part of Marſhal Richlieu's army, and the

cruel

cruel oppreſſions daily exerciſed upon the inhabitants without regard to age, ſex, dignity, or character, did take up theſe arms, which a falſe policy, and the apprehenſions of a neighbour, had cauſed them to lay down. Prince Ferdinand ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of 40,000 men; he was declared generaliſſimo and commander in chief of the army of the Allies that was to be muſtered againſt France; the troops of Brunſwick and Zell were taken into Britiſh pay, and joined him; and ſoon after his Britannic Majeſty had ſo far intereſted himſelf in the proſecution of this war, that, in oppoſition to Mr. Pitt's ſuperior eloquence, a body of 20,000 of the national Britiſh troops under Lord George Sackville, ſecond ſon to the Duke of Dorſet, were ſent over to join; they were tranſported to Embden, and landed, ſome at Bremen, and others at Verden, as more commodious than to march through the territories belonging to the States General.

The French army, and that of the Allies, did not differ more in their religious principles, the one being Roman Catholics, and the other Proteſtants, than in their ſituation and circumſtances; for while the latter were hearty and vigorous, the former was in ſuch a deplorable condition, that when the Prince de Clermont came to take upon him the command in the room of M. Richlieu, who was recalled, he wrote to his Court, "that "one third of the army was below ground, another "above ground, and a third in the hoſpitals." They quitted Hanover almoſt without ſtroke of ſword, and his Highneſs found himſelf obliged to ſeek them out in another country.

There was nothing more in this German war than what might be expected; the armies marched after each other from place to place, and embraced the

the opportunity of fighting when the generals ſaw it for their advantage. Weſtphalia and the Country of Paderborn were the theatres thereof: theſe countries were ſometimes maſtered by one army, ſometimes by the other; and the whole Langraviate of Heſſe Caſſel was twice loſt and twice gained in the courſe thereof. There were four pitched battles and above twenty different encounters between detached parties: the plains of Fraudlingen, of Crevelt, and of Rheda were dyed by the blood of the French, and their troops were beat out of the field: however, of all theſe engagements that at Minden, on the 1ſt of Auguſt 1759, was the moſt general and important. The French army, amounting to 80,000 men, was commanded by the Marſhal de Contades and by the Duke de Broglio, and the Confederates, who were 70,000 ſtrong, was headed by Prince Ferdinand, who obtained a ſignal victory, owing to a diviſion that ſubſiſted between Broglio and Contades, but more to the ſuperior bravery of the troops under his Highneſs's command; and particularly the Britiſh corps under the command of the Generals Waldegrave and Kingſley. The French cavalry was routed, and the Engliſh cavalry did not engage: an event owing to a miſapprehenſion of the orders delivered to Lord George Sackville; between whom and Prince Ferdinand there never exiſted that zeal, confidence, and perſonal regard as are requiſite to finiſh a campaign with glory. Perhaps his Highneſs thought, that another might be more generous and profuſe: and therefore in the orders iſſued out next day, thanking the different generals for their valour and conduct, there was an implied cenſure upon his *. Lord George applied for his Majeſty's permiſſion to re-

* Had the Marquis of Granby been at the head of the cavalry, the victory had been more complete and brilliant.

turn

turn to England, in order to anſwer ſuch accuſations as might be brought againſt him; which having obtained he arrived at his houſe in Pallmall on the 8th of September; at which time the whole kingdom ſeemed to have imbibed an unfavourable opinion of his behaviour, to remove which he iſſued out a ſhort addreſs to the public, repreſenting how much he thought himſelf injured abroad by an implied cenſure upon his conduct, and ſtill more unfortunate at home, by being publicly repreſented as having neglected his duty and diſobeying the poſitive orders of his Serene Highneſs Prince Ferdinand. "As I am," continued he, "conſcious "of neither neglect nor diſobedince to orders; as "I am certain I did my duty to the utmoſt of my "abilities; as I am perſuaded, that the Prince "himſelf would have found that he had no juſt "cauſe of complaint againſt me, had he conde-"ſcended to have enquired into my conduct, be-"fore he had expreſſed his diſapprobation of it, "from the partial repreſentation of others; ſo I "have applied for his Majeſty's permiſſion to re-"turn to England, in order to anſwer any accuſa-"tions that ſhould be brought againſt me:" and ſo concluded with claiming that juſtice which is due to every Engliſhman, "of being heard before "he is condemned."

In conſequence of his Lordſhip's deſire, a court-martial was appointed, and compoſed of ſuch officers as his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland recommended. They ſat at the Horſe-guards in March 1760; where, after fourteen days ſitting, Lord George was, by a plurality of voices, declared unworthy of ſerving his Majeſty in any ſtation ever after. So that his place of commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in Germany, with that of maſter-general of the ordnance, was conferred upon

upon the Marquis of Granby, a nobleman who, ever ſince the winter of the rebellion 1745, had by his liberality and generous behaviour to the ſoldiers, procured their univerſal eſteem and regard.

The ſummer of 1760 was, like others, ſpent in ſkirmiſhing, retreats, encounters, and encampments: and it is ſomewhat remarkable through the courſe of the war, that if the King of Pruſſia prevailed, the Allied army met with a diſaſter, and if the laſt obtained an advantage, the Pruſſians ſuſtained a loſs. About twelve days after the battle of Minden, the Pruſſians, commanded by the King in perſon, were defeated by the Muſcovites, at Cuſtrin, under Count Soltikoff: and though I would ſhun as much as poſſible to enter into the minute circumſtances of battles, eſpecially in a narrative where is ſuch a variety, yet we cannot paſs over an entertaining circumſtance here.

Whoever examines the conduct of the King of Pruſſia at different engagements, and he has fought twenty battles, he will find, that his Majeſty's uniform practice was to direct more than ordinary force either againſt the center or one of the wings of the enemy. Count Soltikoff was apprized of his method, and prepared accordingly. The King encountered the center with uncommon fierceneſs, after a feint attack upon the right wing; but the other ſuſtained his efforts, which were redoubled ſeven different times, and as often proved abortive: at the eighth the Muſcovites right ſeemed to retire, and the Pruſſians began to purſue: thus were they decoyed to an eminence fortified with eighty pieces of cannon, which pouring in upon them, they were ſoon between two fires, and cut down in their ranks with a terrible ſlaughter. The ſame thing might be obſerved of the battle of Hochkirken, October 14th 1758; for when his army was routed by

Count

Count Daun, and when M. Keith (his maſter in the art of war) was killed, about that time Weſtphalia and Hanover were freed; ſo the ſucceſſes and loſſes ſeemed reciprocal. When Saxony fell to the King of Pruſſia, Hanover was poſſeſſed by the French; and if theſe loſt the country of Paderborn, the Pruſſians recovered Sileſia: and in this manner the war continued in that quarter. It really ſeemed as the French generals were not bent upon conqueſt. M. de Broglio appeared gay, even after a diſaſter: and, as Alſace and Lorrain were open behind him, his troops could be reinforced at pleaſure. This obſervation is not meant to diminiſh the fame of thoſe who fix the chief place of glory in war and in conqueſt The bravery of a general may appear as great in a defeat as in a victory: the repulſe of the Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick does not leſs enoble him, than the advantages which he gained: and the victory obtained by the Marquis of Granby at Harbourgh, over M. de Huy (the gentleman in whoſe arms the Dauphin of France died Dec. 20th 1765) does not add more luſtre to his military character, than the addreſs with which the French general brought off the ſhattered remains, does honour and dignity to his. If there had been no war in any other part of the world with France, ſhe could have continued her armies in Germany for ten years, tho' ſhe had loſt a battle every year.

In Aſia her affairs were as unſucceſsful as in America. Sir George Pocock defeated her fleet on the 3d of Auguſt 1758, near Fort St. David. Her army, under M. de Lally, met every-where with diſaſters: her troops were ſhamefully repulſed before Madraſs, and Pondicherry was taken. Nor were her misfortunes ſmall even upon her own coaſts,

coaſts, which were four times attempted in the courſe of four months.

In June 1758 Charles Duke of Marlborough landed at Cancalle Bay with an army of 20,000 men, and, marching to St. Maloes, burnt an hundred ſail of ſhips, raiſed contributions, triumphed with all the badges of a conqueror, and in nothing more than in his moderation and goodneſs; for he would not ſuffer thoſe under his command to do any hurt to the innocent inhabitants: yet the damage ſuſtained by France on that occaſion was computed at two millions ſterling. At Cherburgh the harbour, one of the brighteſt monuments of Cardinal Fleury's miniſtry, was demoliſhed in the Auguſt thereafter. And though the attacks at Lunaire under General Bligh *, September the 11th, and on the coaſt of Gaſcony by Sir John Mordaunt, were not ſo hurtful to the French as the other two, yet even theſe ſhewed to the world that Great Britain was capable of acting vigorouſly againſt her enemies, and that her councils were inſpired and directed by courage and ſagacity. The deſtroying of M. de Clue's ſquadron upon the coaſt of Portugal, and the repeated blows given to her marine in the Mediterranean, and indeed in every other part, but particularly off the coaſt of Belleiſle Nov. 20th 1759, when Admiral Hawke totally routed the Breſt fleet, under M. de Conflans, expoſed the weakneſs of France in the moſt evident manner.

The engagements between the fleets of France and of Great Britain have ever had ſomething uncommonly terrible in them, and few more that the encounter we have mentioned. The infatuation of

* His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York was on board the ſame ſhip as Commodore Howe, and gave ſuch ſignal inſtances of a truly great ſoul and real goodneſs of heart as procured eſteem and veneration from all who ſaw him.

the

the French was ſingular, for when the ſignal was given that the Engliſh fleet was approaching, inſtead of drawing up in order of battle, they ſteered different ways, and yet determined to ſtand an engagement. The Magnanime, commanded by Lord Howe, was the firſt to begin the fight with the ſternmoſt ſhip of the enemy, a veſſel of 80 guns, commanded by M. de St. Andre. The firing on both ſides was briſk, when Sir Edward Hawke in the Royal George came up, and the French ſhip ſtruck. M. de Conflans in the Soleil Royal endeavoured to decoy the Britiſh admiral among ſome ſhallows, where he muſt inevitably be ſtranded, yet not before the two had exchanged ſeven broadſides againſt each other. A view of the two ſhips with the enſigns of the Lion flying at the topmaſt head of the one, and that of the Flower de Lys at the top of the other, yielded a glorious appearance at firſt; but when theſe ſhips poured out fire and ſmoke at each other, the ſcene was greatly altered, and became terrible and moving; and ſtill more ſhocking, as two ſhips ſunk without any poſſibility of ſaving them. It ſeems the French had opened their lower guns, and the ſea being tempeſtuous, the water poured in at the port-holes and overſet the veſſels in a moment. Some that were on board Admiral Hawke's ſhips have told me, that the poor men got from the decks upon the ſides of the ſhip, and as ſhe was ſinking, raiſed the moſt pitiful cries ſignificant of their miſerable diſtreſs. Some boats were hoiſted out to take them in, but very few were ſaved, as the ſwell was ſo large. In a word, the French fleet, which had been blocked up for four months, was totally ruined; two of their capital ſhips were burnt, two were ſunk, and the reſt were either taken or ſo miſerably ſhattered as to be unfit for uſe during the courſe of the war; and all

with the loſs of one ſhip, the Reſolution, which had run aground through the eagerneſs of the pilot to purſue.

When the news of the engagement reached Britain, there was the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction; and his Royal Highneſs taking part therein, notwithſtanding he did not attend the court-days ſo frequently as before, yet on this occaſion he waited on the king at St. James's to pay his compliments, and was received with all the fondneſs of a father. The Court reſounded with the praiſe of Admiral Hawke, and the Britiſh Parliament returned their thanks to him; which concluded in theſe very words: "The defeat of the French fleet has been "the ſafety of England in this age of glory, as the "deſtruction of the Spaniſh Armada had been in "another."

Though this coup d'eclat might have completed the diſtreſſes of the enemy, yet they had others ſtill more terrible. Their vintage that year was blaſted, their crops were withered, their harveſt had been as bad as that in Britain was plentiful; their cattle were ſlaughter'd, and after being packed up on board their veſſels had been picked up by privateers or by the Britiſh men of war. Being in continual alarms of an invaſion from England, the ties of humanity were broken, connections were looſed, fears within and terrors without prey'd upon her vitals: jealouſy, like a moth, inſinuated into the inmoſt receſſes of her councils; her Monarch ſpent his time among his women, the Dauphin among the prieſts and clergy of the different orders; the kingdom was ſo drained of ſpecie, that the King's plate with that of ſome of the greateſt peers was ſent to the mint to be coined: nay, to ſuch diſtreſs was the French Court driven, that ſhe could not ſupport the poor priſoners, twenty thouſand of whom

whom were now in England confined, at Sigenhurſt, Hawkhurſt, Wincheſter, &c.

Among the many tranſcendent virtues which adorned the Duke of Cumberland, that of real goodneſs of heart ſhone brilliant and glorious. No difference of nation, religion, intereſt, or any other external circumſtance could in the leaſt efface the noble and elevated principles of generous, diffuſive, and diſintereſted benevolence and charity, ſo deeply rooted in him. He never looked on the poor without feeling for them, nor could any of his favourites lay a greater obligation upon him than to point out a way by which he might be more extenſively uſeful. Many of the letters in the public papers from the gaols of Newgate, the Compters, the Marſhalſea, and Whitechapel, thanking unknown benefactors, might with great propriety have been directed to him: and at this time his royal heart bled for thoſe who became priſoners through the doubtful fortune of war. He ſent a thouſand pounds to Sigenhurſt by a ſure hand; but at the ſame time laid the ſtrongeſt injunctions upon him, not to mention from whom the preſent came, and with it he ſent a letter, ſigned *Britannicus*, deſiring that a note might be taken of the number of thoſe who were of the ſame trade, and an eſtimate be made of what they were able to do for their living: accordingly ſome were found to be ſhoemakers, ſome taylors, ſome clothworkers in all its branches. Suitable materials were bought for working upon; ſome dreſſed leather, ſome made clothes and ſhoes for the country people, others ſpun and knit ſtockings, ſome of which I have ſeen; and in this manner did many of theſe unfortunate ſtrangers gain their living. The example of his Highneſs was followed by many of the nobility of both ſexes, to the immortal honour of him who was the inſtru-

ment of giving alms in ſecret, and yet was content to be unknown; and the Parliament ſoon took their caſe into conſideration, and gave them relief.

The affairs of France in the year 1759 were not in a worſe condition, than thoſe of Great Britain were proſperous and fortunate. The fame of Mr. Pitt was greater than that of any other miniſter; the fondeſt hope or the moſt ardent wiſhes could not have dared to entertain the moſt diſtant thoughts of what had been brought about through his means: he reſtored his country to that dignity of which ſhe ſeemed to be deprived at the beginning of the war: he healed her diviſions, cancelled the diſtinction of party, and united his fellow ſubjects in one common cauſe: he inſpired our councils with reſolution and wiſdom, and piloted our natural ſtrength through the proper channel to glory and ſucceſs, under the influence of his miniſtry, hitherto unparalleled for concord and unanimity. Britannia's ſons by ſea and land were habituated to conqueſt, and victory ſeemed to ſit brooding between the knees of our aged Sovereign, at a time when the brilliance of his diadem received a luſtre from the ſilver colour of his grey hairs. The ſame ſpirit of concord and harmony diffuſed itſelf through the fleets and army, to ſuch a degree that every one ſeemed to fight the cauſe of his neighbour no leſs than his own.

That year the Parliament voted the continuation of the war, and made proviſion for it: and accordingly it continued to rage with its uſual fierceneſs in Germany, where the French, by the ſuperiority of numbers, and from a motive to wipe off their diſgrace, had exerted themſelves ſo far as to get poſſeſſion of Paderborn, and ſeveral eſtates belonging to the Electorate of Hanover. Incidents which could not but affect the heart of our King: he died ſuddenly

ſuddenly at Kenſington, about half an hour after ſeven in the morning of the 25th of October 1760, wanting only ſixteen days of ſeventy-ſeven years, after having reigned thirty three years four months and fourteen days: and here it will not be improper to give a character of him.

He was certainly a Prince of excellent endowments, of ſpirit, and of vivacity. By the innate ſtrength of his own genius he at once commenced a general and a hero: never diſcouraged by difficulties, he ſometimes executed what others judged impoſſible: active and indefatigable, he diſcerned as by intuition. By his evenneſs of temper, hitherto proof againſt misfortunes, he baffled the efforts of conſpiracy and diſtreſs; and if at any time his calamities multiplied, his virtues ſhone with the brighter luſtre. As a Sovereign he was a man, a citizen, a legiſlator, and a patriot. His ambition was to ſee things with his own eyes, and to make juſtice and humanity his miniſters of ſtate: for, entertaining an unconfined good will to mankind, he gave an univerſal toleration, the deciſive characteriſtic of true religion: he equally abhorred the guilt of making martyrs and the folly of making proſelytes. His Majeſty encouraged the induſtrious, and honoured the learned: was of ſuch uncommon ſympathy that he always felt for the unfortunate; never ſigning a dead warrant without a viſible concern: and ſuch was the feeling of his Royal heart, that once in Hyde-park, at an experiment for firing a cannon three times in a minute, when one of the matroſſes had his hand and arm torn by the exploſion, he refuſed to look at any more trials that day, notwithſtanding he was entreated by all who were round him.

Next day his grandſon, our preſent Sovereign, was proclaimed through London and Weſtminſter,

by the name of George III. whom may God Almighty long preſerve.

It is one of the maxims of this conſtitution, that a King of Great Britain never dies; and in this event the maxim was verified; for the new Sovereign in his very firſt ſpeech to his Parliament declared his unalterable reſolution to ſupport the government in church and ſtate, and to preſerve the toleration inviolable. The officers of ſtate were retained; a reſolution was taken of continuing the war; and, for the better diſtribution of juſtice, the ſalaries of the puiſne judges were augmented from 1500 *l.* to 2000 *l. per ann.* That Seſſion of Parliament, tho' the laſt in the courſe of things, was no leſs forward than any of the preceding; and, having finiſhed their buſineſs, they were diſſolved, and a new one was called.

As things were in this ſituation a conference was propoſed on the ſide of France; and the Court of Britain was not averſe to it. Accordingly Sir Hans Stanley was ſent from London to Paris, to confer with the French miniſtry, in June 1760, and M. de Buſſy came over to London, to negotiate with ours. He was well acquainted with the Britiſh nation, and with the public funds: he had formerly been an ambaſſador at the Britiſh Court, and in the year 1743 followed the King to Hanover, where he negotiated with the Earl of Harrington. M. Buſſy, knowing that his Court only wanted to gain time, and that a compact had been entered into with that of Madrid for curbing the growing power of the Britiſh nation, came over partly with a view of diverting the Britiſh miniſtry from prying into the ſecret articles of the treaty. The Spaniſh flota had left Carthagena in New Spain in the month of February, ſo that, had the Family Compact been known, the ſame might have been intercepted.

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Before leaving Paris he artfully cauſed ſome emiſſaries to publiſh through Britain and Holland, that the war would become every day more ſerious and terrible; and, the French army having got poſſeſſion of Heſſe Caſſel and defeated two or three detached parties of the Confederates ſtrengthening the conjecture, his deſign was anſwered: the ſtocks fell conſiderably, and he, by his agents at Amſterdam and at the Hague, bought ſhares to the amount of 400,000 *l.*

By his coming to England, where after once and again conferring with the Duke of Newcaſtle and with Mr. Pitt, the hopes of peace began to revive, and the ſtocks roſe conſiderably. At this very time he ſold out the ſhares he had bought, and by his bargain gained 70,000 *l.* This being done, he embarraſſed the negotiation, by intermixing the claims of the Court of Madrid, which, he ſaid, his Maſter ardently deſired might be adjuſted. Mr. Pitt ſoon detected the latent fire that lay concealed under theſe plauſible terms, and Buſſy ſoon broke off the conferences; which he attributed only to Mr. Pitt's obſtinacy: "For (ſaid he) the Duke of "Newcaſtle is a reaſonable downright honeſt man; "but I know not what to make of Mr. Pitt: he "is tenacious, and no way diſpoſed to reconcile."

It was ſomewhat ſurprizing, that the Court of France ſhould be ſo refractory after ſo many loſſes and diſappointments: for that very ſummer ſhe loſt the beautiful iſland of Belleiſle, by the ſurrender of the garriſon of Palais, on the 5th of June, to Commodore Keppel and General Hopſon. By this conqueſt the Britiſh nation was put in poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole trade in the bay of Biſcay: and indeed the beſt uſe was made of it during the remaining part of the war, as a ſquadron was conſtantly kept there, ſo that no ſhip could either go

in or come out of Breſt, Rochfort, &c. without imminent danger of being taken.

The hurry of war did not divert conſulting a method for perpetuating the bleſſings which this conſtitution in church and in ſtate daily brought about: for his Majeſty declared in council, that he had fixed upon Charlotta Sophia, the younger ſiſter of the reigning Duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, as partner of his bed and of his throne. That Princeſs had once danced at a ball where ſome of the Britiſh officers were preſent, and theſe had made ſo handſome a report of her perſon and virtues, as to captivate the heart of the King. The rank of her family, though the ſame had given a King to Norway and had been connected with the beſt in the Empire, was the leaſt of her recommendation; the brilliance of her character, the goodneſs of her heart, and the fullneſs of her reputation were deciſive circumſtancesin her favour. The Earl of Harcourt, with a grand retinue, went over, while the Dutcheſs of Hamilton (lady to the Marquis of Lorn) and the Dutcheſs of Ancaſter were ſent to accompany her to the dominions over which ſhe was to govern. She travelled by land to Stadt, eſcorted by a body of her brother's guards, where ſhe embarked for England: and, arriving upon the 8th of September, was received at the garden-gate by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, who handed her out of the coach, and conducted her through the entrance, where ſhe was received by his Majeſty, who, before ſhe could fully kneel, took her up in his arms, embraced her, and conducted her up ſtairs to his mother and ſiſters, who received her with all the tenderneſs of a friend: his Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland with the King's four brothers were alſo preſent, and all of them paid their compliments, welcoming her to

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the country. The Chancellor and other Officers of State were immediately ſent for; and, all agreeing that the nuptials ſhould be ſolemnized immediately, they were married that very night. The Duke of Cumberland acted the part of father and gave her away; about ten they joined hands, which was intimated to the people by the great guns drawn out in the Park for that purpoſe. It ſeems that foreigners when married to a native of England muſt repeat the words of the ceremony in the Engliſh tongue, ſome of whom make a poor figure in the uttering of them: however it was not ſo with the Royal Bride; for people who were preſent declared, that ſhe pronounced the different ſentences as properly as a native; and about the time of the death of the Duke of Cumberland ſhe ſpoke the Engliſh tongue incomparably well.

Fourteen days after this marriage was the coronation, perhaps the moſt brilliant and ſplendid that ever had been in England; at leaſt the Royal Family were more numerous than on any other occaſion, there being no leſs than eleven immediate deſcendants of the laſt King, beſides the Princeſs Dowager of Wales and the Queen.

George the Third, King of Great Britain, is a prince endowed with ſuch external qualities of perſon, as ſpeak the more refined and admirable accompliſhments of the underſtanding. Under the eye of the beſt of fathers he learned to read and pronounce with ſingular elegance and propriety; formed to virtue by his precepts and excited by his example, he began to have an early love for his country, and in a manner to court the favour of thoſe over whom he was once to govern. His genius for letters was ſpirited and free. In love with liberty from his infancy he could act the part of Cato in the tragedy of that name, in a manner that would have

have done honour to the beſt performers: he delighted much in architecture, botany, and the fine arts; and looked upon his father's friends as his own.

The childiſh amuſements and trifling employments too frequent about courts, had never got any aſcendant over him: and though theſe might for a while obſcure a little of that precious ſeed which had been ſown in his heart, yet no ſooner did he take into his hands the reins of government, than the great and noble principles he had imbibed, and which had taken deep root during the courſe of his education, had intirely got the upper hand: the death of his royal father had made the firſt impreſſion; that of his grandfather had made it more ſenſible; the marriage bed (which is but a forerunner of the death bed) tended to mollify him the more, and his coronation ſtill improved what was begun: for, receiving a ſurfeit at worldly greatneſs, and obſerving the vanity of earthly ſplendor, he ſet his mind upon the King of kings. It was delightful to ſee a young man paſſing in all the pomp of majeſty and all the ſplendor of greatneſs, beyond whatever Greece or Rome beheld at their moſt exalted triumphs, beckoning to crowded multitudes, with his hands, his head, and the whole of his deportment. How elevated the expreſſion, "I do not chuſe to take the ſacrament with the "crown upon my head, for I am in the preſence "of the King of kings!" And again, "Pray read "over the oath diſtinctly, for I am in the preſence "of God, and am reſolved to obſerve it."

The crown was ſet upon his head by Dr. Secker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the ſame who had baptized him, married him, and afterward baptized three of his ſons. The ſermon was preached by Dr. Hay Drummond, Archbiſhop of York, from

from the words of the Queen Sheba to King Solomon *. It was a rhetorical diſcourſe upon the duty of a chief magiſtrate in a limited conſtitution like that of this country.

Scarce was the coronation over, when an event happened which not a little ſtartled the people of all ranks, as Mr. Pitt reſigned the ſeals on Monday October the 5th. He and his lady's brother, Lord Temple, had inſiſted in a debate that happened in the Privy-council, on declaring war immediately againſt Spain. Theſe two courtiers "ſubmitted in "writing and ſigned by them, their ſentiments for "taking that ſtep;" which being over-ruled by the unanimous opinion of his Majeſty's other ſervants, Mr. Pitt reſigned the ſeals, in order that he might not remain reſponſible for meaſures which he was no longer allowed to *guide*. However, on his reſignation the King beſtowed upon him a penſion of 3000 *l. per annum*, the title of Baroneſs on Eſther Mr. Pitt's lady, and the name and dignity of Baron of Chatham on her male iſſue.

This reſignation only raiſed the love and eſteem of the nation: for on the lord mayor's day following the infatuated populace huzzaed Mr. Pitt more than the King himſelf, and crowded about his coach in ſuch multitudes, that they were like to raiſe the wheels thereof from the ground. And here his Highneſs attended the King, and, without being moved, beheld the ſhiftings of popular applauſe.

The time was approaching when the war was to be brought to a period: the Britiſh nation exerting herſelf with a becoming vigour, a revenue was raiſed of no leſs than 19,616,119 *l.* 19 *s.* 9 *d.* for the ſervice of the enſuing year. The Courts of Madrid and London emitted reciprocal declarations of war; and, to involve Great Britain ſtill more,

* 1 Kings, chap. x. verſ. 9.

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the Kings of France and Spain both declared war againſt Portugal.

In the midſt of theſe gathering ſtorms, the Duke of Cumberland, who never was abſent from the Privy-council, when affairs of importance came upon the carpet, adviſed to ſend a body of 14,000 men to Portugal; and likewiſe a number of land forces and a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips to beſiege the Havannah in the Iſle of Cuba in the Weſt Indies, while a ſhip ſhould be diſpatched to Admiral Corniſh and Colonel Draper in the Eaſt Indies, requiring them to ſail directly to the Iſle of Manilla, in the extremity of Aſia, to diſtreſs Spain in theſe two oppoſite quarters. He named the officers and regiments to be employed in Portugal and in the Weſt India expedition. The Earl of Loudon, whoſe name was already ſufficiently known, acted with all the ſpirit and vigour of a brave officer on the Portugueſe frontiers, while Sir George Pococke and the Earl of Albemarle reduced the Havannah, after having ſtormed El Moro caſtle, which lies at the mouth of the harbour, and hitherto was accounted impregnable: and, to render the conqueſt ſtill more glorious and important, no leſs than twelve ſhips of the line, with twenty-ſeven merchant-men and 5,000,000 *l.* fell into the hands of the victor; with territory capable of the utmoſt improvement, and ſo ſituated as to be in a manner the key to Mexico and Peru. The French made a diverſion by landing upon Newfoundland; but were ſoon beat off with loſs, and had it not been for the fogs, which are immoderately thick in that quarter, the whole would have been taken.

The Spaniards ſuſtained another great loſs at the commencement of this war, in a large ſhip, named the Hermione, which had ſailed from the weſtern ſhore of Panama, laden with ſilver, with gold and

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with jewels, to the amount of 1,500,000 *l.* fell providentially into our hands: the money taken out of which was conducted to London, and juſt came in ſight of St. James's as the King had the firſt account of the birth of his ſon *. That year there was an inſtallment of the Knights of the moſt noble Order of the Garter at Windſor, when his Majeſty, attended by the Queen, viſited his Royal Uncle, and witneſſed the grand ſolemnity; after which they were moſt magnificently and royally entertained.

The elegance of the entertainment was but the leaſt article of their amuſement: their Majeſties walked thro' his gardens, where they were ſtruck with an amazing variety; and being attended by a prodigious and ſplendid retinue, they all admired the grandeur of his apartments, the choice of his curioſities, the variety of his pictures, his animals and ſhells, the order and regularity of his houſhold, the fineneſs of his horſes, and the harmonious diſtribution and laying out of the different grounds. After being delighted with the whole of his Highneſs's improvements the Duke, their Majeſties, and the illuſtrious company viſited Eaton School; where they converſed freely with the different maſters, and received in the moſt gracious manner, ſuch noblemen and gentlemen ſtudents as were introduced to them.

The glory of the Britiſh arms was brilliant both in the Weſt and in the Eaſt Indies. Manilla fell before its Governor ſo much as heard that there was a rupture between the two Crowns. The conduct of Colonel Draper and the bravery of Admiral Corniſh were every way noble, and at the ſametime temper'd with an humanity which great ſouls generally regard more than any reſolution or intrepidity. They entered into an agreement for ran-

* Auguſt 12th, 1762.

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ſoming the Manillas for four million of dollars: but, under the pretences that ſome of our private men had miſbehaved (an event which diſcipline itſelf cannot totally prevent) and that the La Santiſſima Trinidada and Philippina, two rich Acapulco ſhips, which had been taken by the Britiſh fleet, were included, the Spaniſh Court have heſitated in fulfilling the engagements for the ranſom; which, however, by means of warm and ſerious remonſtrances, are at the time of writing this like to be complied with.

The loſs of the Havannah in the Weſt and the diſaſter at the Manilla (where never enemy had before penetrated in an hoſtile manner) would not have diſpoſed France to an accommodation: her miniſtry were infatuated and obſtinate, and therefore endeavoured to make a figure on the Weſer. However, the olive branch ſeemed to have come from the quarter where it was diſcovered at the period of the former war: for the Empreſs of Ruſſia (the only ſurviving child of Peter the Great) dying January 1762, ſhe was ſucceeded by her nephew Peter III. who, embracing a different ſyſtem from his predeceſſor, ordered the Ruſſian army to quit Colberg and the other ſtates of Pruſſia; while the Swedes clapt up a peace, and returned to their own country: nay, the ſyſtem of Ruſſia was ſo much changed in a few months, that Peter III. who was murdered July 9th, by a conſpiracy among his clergy and officers of ſtate, would have ſent an army to join the Pruſſians, and to act as their Monarch ſhould direct them. But, as the powers on the continent ſeemed all glutted with blood and with rapine, an accommodation was propoſed: and indeed it was time it ſhould take place, for Paderbon, Weſtphalia, Hanover, and Heſſe Caſſel were exhauſted; the ſword and

famine had with united force viſited the inhabitants. Bohemia, Saxony, Sileſia, and Moravia had been ruined by the armies of contending Potentates: Pruſſia, Pomerania (both Swediſh and Pruſſian) together with Brandenburgh, had been filled with horror and calamity. The Queens of Poland and Pruſſia died of grief; the one for the miſeries of her huſband, the other for the misfortunes of her ſon. The temples had been violated, the altars had been prophaned, and, what is ſhocking to humanity, the bodies of the dead had been taken out of their coffins, and ſtripped of their grave clothes. It was hard to ſay, whether the Muſcovite Coſſacks or the Auſtrian Croats exceeded in brutality.

To bring this accommodation to a period, the Duke of Bedford repaired to Paris, in September 1762, on the ſide of Great Britain, and the Duke de Nivernois came over to London on the part of France.

The Duke de Nivernois was a nobleman of as bright parts, deep penetration and ſagacity, as any about the Court of Verſailles. With all the advantages of birth and education, he early took the tour of Europe: the clearneſs of his underſtanding increaſed with his years: well acquainted with the intereſt of Princes, he inveſtigated the ſeveral ſprings that move the Courts of Vienna and Berlin: well knowing the ſtrength and weakneſs of Great Britain, he ſaw where ſhe was ſound, and where ſhe was diſeaſed: he had thoroughly digeſted the intereſts of the Courts of Madrid and Liſbon; was poſſeſſed of a readineſs of thought, and nervouſneſs of expreſſion, that rendered him entirely fit for holding an argument: to him was owing the alliance formed between the Courts of Vienna and Verſailles, as it was foreſeen that, in conſequence of this ſtep, the King of Pruſſia would be-

become an expenſive ally of Great Britain; ſenſible of our connections with Portugal, he knew how to adapt his ſpeech toward raiſing compaſſion in the breaſts of her friends. And indeed at this time their caſe was wretched; their very exiſtence was threatened by two powerful neighbours; the people were diſcontented with their King, their Sovereign was diſtruſtful of his ſubjects, two armies within her bowels, the one wanting to rob her of her being, and the other compoſed of Proteſtants and Roman Catholics *, only united in place, but disjointed in religion, ſentiments, and diſcipline: add to this, that the French negotiator was ſo cool, as never to alter his countenance, even when informed of the moſt diſaſtrous events. He was dining with the Earl of Bute, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, when the news came of taking the Havannah; he read the contents of the letters without any alteration of countenance, and continued to ſpend his time with the ſame gaiety and chearfulneſs as before. The Duke of Bedford was no leſs regaled in Paris, than the Duke de Nivernois was at London; and on the 3d of November the preliminaries for a general peace were ſigned. The news of this event was tranſmitted to the ſeveral places where the war was raging, and at once put an end to hoſtilities in Germany, where the armies were in motion, as if in the hotteſt time of the war. The French had got poſſeſſion of the beautiful city of Caſſel, which the Allies were no leſs deſirous to recover, than they were earneſt to retain: the party to ſuccour the garriſon under M. de Stainville, and the body of forces intended to prevent them under the Marquis of Granby, had a moſt ſharp and terrible encounter, in which both of them performed the

* The Portugueſe army and the Britiſh auxiliaries.

part

part of the greateſt and moſt experienced in the art of war: however, the latter prevailed, and got betwixt the other and the town; ſo that when the news of the ceſſation of arms came, and was intimated by the French generals, both Prince Ferdinand and the Marquis declared, that they rejoiced in every opportunity of preventing the effuſion of human blood, and even agreed to let proviſions go into the garriſon.

When the preliminaries of peace were ſent to St. James's, his Majeſty ordered the ſame to be laid before his Parliament, who, on the 9th of December following, took them ſeriouſly into conſideration: both Houſes were extremely full; and Mr. Pitt, notwithſtanding an excruciating pain, attended, though his feet and legs were wrapt up in flannel; and that he was obliged to be carried between two men from his chair to his ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, and when there to be three times recruited with drops preſcribed for his diſorder, yet he ſpoke for three hours and an half on the important ſubject, till his malady increaſing, he was obliged to withdraw two hours before the final reſolve on an addreſs to his Majeſty, approving what had been done: the numbers for the addreſs were 319 to 65, or five to one nearly. Many ſpeeches for and againſt them were that day uttered, which might have adorned any aſſembly that ever Greece or Rome beheld; Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Charles Townſhend, and Mr. Dempſter, ſpoke with diſtinguiſhed eloquence; and the healths of the Minority were drank at ſeveral magnificent and grand entertainments.

In the other Houſe the debates likewiſe ran high; the Dukes of Newcaſtle and Grafton ſpoke upon the ſubject, as did the Earls Temple, Hardwicke, and Halifax, the Lord Chancellor Henley, Earl

of Northington, and the Lord Mansfield. In the courſe of the debate it was ſhewn, that the King of Pruſſia was not a natural, but an accidental ally; that the ſubſidy paid to him was more than was given to any other potentate; and that though the treaty between the Courts of London and Berlin had expired before the laſt negotiation was begun, yet the Pruſſian intereſt had been taken as much care of, as if the treaty had ſubſiſted in all its force. In a word, the addreſs was agreed on; and the Earl of B— very candidly owned, "that "was he to die next day, he would deſire no more "honourable inſcription on his tomb, than that "he was the man to adviſe his Majeſty to agree "to the preliminary articles, which now lay be-"fore them;" and were afterward ſigned, Feb. 10, 1763.

By this treaty the French were driven from the Eaſt Indies, Great Britain had the whole of North America, from the bottom of the Gulph of Florida to Quebec incluſive; as alſo Cape Breton and Senegal: Cuba was reſtored to Spain, Martinico and Guadaloupe, with the other iſles, to France, &c. and in other reſpects things were moſtly ſettled as before.

Though this treaty of peace, ſo glorious for the armies and navies of Great Britain, of whom the King, in his anſwer to the addreſs of the City of London on the conqueſt of the Havannah, ſaid, "Too much cannot be ſaid in their praiſe;" yet loud and bitter complaints were made againſt it without doors, and the Earl of Bute being a favourite was blamed; however, it had the approbation of both Houſes of Parliament, the trading part of the City of London, the merchants and corporations of the other great cities and towns in the united kingdom, of the univerſities, the convocation in England, and the aſſembly of the church

church of Scotland. Though Lord Bute was nephew to John and Archibald, Dukes of Argyle, and by the mother was deſcended from the famous Lieutenant-General Talmaſh, he was yet treated in the moſt contemptible manner on account of his being from the north ſide of the Tweed. A paper called the North Briton appeared weekly, containing aſperſions upon him, and the moſt falſe and glaring miſrepreſentations of the country, which evidently proved, that the author was groſsly ignorant of Lord Bute's character, and that he was an utter ſtranger to the geography and inhabitants of Scotland. Every perſon of diſcretion and prudence laughed at reflections upon people for the place of their birth; but others carried the matter ſo far, that the bowels of compaſſion, ſo warmly recommended by the Chriſtian religion, were ſhut againſt the cries of the poor. It was no new thing to hear a well-dreſſed gentleman ſay to a ſailor, who had loſt a limb in the cauſe of his country, "Go to "Lord Bute, aſk charity of him, don't aſk it of "me." The lower claſs of the natives of Scotland about London were great loſers at that period; for if a Scotſman kept a ſhop or a ſtall, he was ſure to be ſingled out by ſuch tools as were employed to inflame. And here it is obſervable, that wretches of a mongrel deſcent were readier than thoſe who were of an Engliſh family, that had exiſted before the conqueſt: the immediate deſcendants of Dutch Jews, Italian rope-dancers, or French cooks by Iriſh ſtrollers, or proſtitutes from the Iſle of Man; nay, ſome of thoſe Engliſhmen were the ſons of African or Jamaica blacks by Aſiatic negroes from Canton, or from Bengal. Among the number of theſe enemies to the people of North Britain was J. Wilkes, though deſcended from thoſe of that country, a man of life and wit,

but neither correct nor equal in them: being a man of ſpirit and vivacity, he had, like others, ſpent a large fortune which he had by his lady: he was frequently obliged to do things, which otherwiſe he would not have done: he wrote periodic papers himſelf, and encouraged others to employ their pen againſt Lord Bute's adminiſtration; and carried his raſhneſs to ſuch a height, as to give a low and invidious turn to the ſeveral parts of his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne: for in the North Briton, No. 45, he told the people, that the ſpeech delivered April 19, 1763, was not the ſpeech of the King, but of the Miniſter; that the advantages received by the laſt peace were not to be regarded; and that the tract of ground interjacent between the eaſtern ſhore of the Miſſiſippi, and the ocean, were nothing, while thoſe on the oppoſite ſide of that river were not in our power. On this he was diſmiſſed from being Colonel of the Buckinghamſhire militia, and by a general warrant from Lord Halifax, then one of the Principal Secretaries of State, his papers were ſeized, as in caſes of high treaſon; he himſelf was apprehended and confined to the Tower, from whence he was brought up, May 5th, before the Common Pleas, in conſequence of a complaint entered againſt his hardſhips.

That day the Court-Houſe was crowded with perſons of the firſt diſtinction, and he had counſel to aſſiſt him: however, ſo ſpirited was he, that far from committing his cauſe to the worthy gentlemen, he ſtood up, and after having told, how the conſtables entered his houſe, he with great warmth ſaid, "I have been worſe uſed and treated than "if I had been a Scots rebel." On this the Court found that he had been illegally taken up, as his name was not ſpecified in the warrant, which was only

only general. This application to the Court of Common Pleas proceeded from the ſpirit of party, which at that time ran exceeding high: ſome looked upon it as an indignity done to the Court of King's Bench, before whom indeed, in the nature of things, matters of ſedition are brought more properly; the reaſon of this contempt was, that Lord Mansfield, the Chief Juſtice, was born in Scotland. Wilkes, in an after trial before Lord Camden, obtained 1000 *l.* damages of the meſſengers, others had deciſions in their favour; and Lord Camden received the thanks of ſome corporation towns for what he had done.

In all points that are dubious there is a diverſity of ſentiment: the queſtion of ſearching houſes by virtue of a general warrant was debated in both Houſes of Parliament without being determined: the Houſe of Commons ordered that Wilkes ſhould attend to anſwer to the charge againſt him for writing the ſeditious paper, intituled, North Briton, No. 45. He anſwered the firſt ſummons by an excuſe, proceeding from a wound he had received in a duel with one Mr. Martin; a ſecond and third were given him, but in the time of the Chriſtmas holidays he thought proper to retire beyond ſea, and at laſt ſettled in Paris, where his circumſtances were not only bad, but he had the mortification to hear firſt of his being expelled the Houſe of Commons, and afterwards in March 1764 of being found guilty by two different juries of writing blaſphemy againſt his God *, and ſedition againſt his King.

As Lord Bute obſerved ſo ſtrong and impetuous a ſtream againſt him, he reſigned his office of Firſt

* In a pamphlet called, "Eſſay on Woman," a moſt impious and deteſtable contrivance, burleſquing the moſt ſacred expreſſions, uſing the moſt odious repreſentations, and the moſt immodeſt terms.

Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and retired wholly to his farm; yet after this reſignation the peace of the kingdom was not ſettled: for whatever miniſter was preferred, there were ſtill complaints againſt him; events which tended not a little toward rendering the Sovereign uneaſy, notwithſtanding he had extended his ſway beyond any other potentate†; that there was a reciprocal confidence between him and his Parliament; that his domeſtic happineſs was ſecured by the increaſe of his family, with the conduct and behaviour of the Queen.

Some of Lord Bute's friends could not help admiring the penetration of the former miniſtry, for reſigning at a time when a general peace was expected; they knew that no peace ever pleaſed all the people; they obſerved the preſs teeming with productions dictating the terms to be inſiſted on by the Miniſters of State; and that the vaſt acquiſitions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, with thoſe on the ſhore of Africa, were more extenſive and more important ones than had ever come before the ſenate of ancient Greece or Rome; they knew Lord Bute to have been a favourite with the King's father, and no leſs with the King himſelf. The circumſtance to endear that nobleman to his Majeſty was, according to my information, owing to an accident, which does honour both to the Sovereign and to him.

One day his Lordſhip came into the room, where the Prince's tutor was demonſtrating the 47th propoſition of the firſt book of Euclid's Elements, which is, that in a right-angled triangle the ſquare of the hypothenuſe is equal to the ſquares of the

† ——Super et Garamantas et Indos
Protulit imperium———
Afric and Indus did his power obey.

two

two containing ſides; a diſcovery * more glorious for Pythagoras, than the overthrow of the Perſian empire was to Alexander the Great. As the preceptor's demonſtration was ſomewhat perplexed, perhaps owing to a want of preſence of mind, or to confuſion, which might ariſe from being in the room with ſtrangers, his Highneſs could not underſtand it. Lord Bute obſerved the ſituation of the pupil, and of the maſter, and being an adept in theſe things, he begun the illuſtration of the figure with ſuch perſpicuity and conciſeneſs, that his Royal Highneſs inſtantly comprehended the ſame, and from that time commenced the high and perſonal regard, which the King entertained for him ever after; nor would any thing, but the expreſs commands of his Sovereign, have prevailed upon his Lordſhip to accept of the place of Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, an office which involved him in a certain expence, and diverted his attention from the affairs of his own immenſe and opulent fortune. The old Duke of Argyle foreſaw the ſtorm, and adviſed him, as he was but little known, not to accept of any ſtation at ſo critical a period: a caution worthy of his Grace to give, and of his Lordſhip to have taken. And here it will not be improper to draw a character of the firſt-named nobleman, as he had been a Lord of Parliament for the ſpace of fifty-four years.

The high office of Lord Juſtice General of Scotland, and Keeper of the Great Seal there, with a numerous train of titles and dignities, did not ſo much honour to him, as they derived luſtre from him; and though he was adorned with all the

* Upon this propoſition the trigonometrical tables are conſtructed, and by it ſeveral of the moſt intricate problems both in algebra and fluxions are ſolved: in ſhort, its uſe is univerſal.

crowns that glory itſelf could fix upon the head of a ſubject, yet theſe, and the confidence of four ſucceeding Sovereigns, did not ſo much ennoble him, as his own merit and perſonal accompliſhments, which rendered him a competent judge both of men and of things.

He could write a letter in eight different languages: he underſtood botany, chemiſtry, and all the practice of phyſic; the ingenious and noble conſtruction of watches and clocks, and of all the machines depending upon mechaniſm, with all the branches of the mathematics, of natural and moral philoſophy: he had digeſted the laws of his country, ſo as to ſpeak upon them with a majeſtic and diſtinguiſhing ſedateneſs, a charming and irreſiſtible eloquence: he was a true friend, no cruel enemy; and beſides the Scheme of raiſing the Independent Highland companies, and promoting the manufactories and fiſheries through the King's dominions, by which multitudes have had bread, and millions unborn may find entertainment, he at a moderate computation ſettled fifty-four thouſand individuals in civil and military employments: a man like Cæſar, chief in peace and war. While at the ſchool of Inverary, and college of Glaſgow, he was no leſs remarkable for a prodigious ſtrength of body and ſurprizing agility, than admired afterward in the Senate and in the Privy Council, where

Actions his words, and words his actions grac'd!

He tho' from heaven remote to heaven did move,
With ſtrength of mind, and trod th' abyſs above;
Well pleas'd was he to walk along the ſphere
Of ſhining ſtars, and travel with the year;
With more than human ſkill he ſcal'd the height
Of Atlas, who ſuſtain'd the heavenly weight:

And

And now his condeſcending eyes ſurvey
Miſtaken mortals wandring from the way.

I ſhould not have dwelt ſo long upon the character of this great man, to whom I had the honour of being known, had it not been that in the circle of his Majeſty's dominions, there was not a ſingle perſon who had an higher opinion of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland; for when the foundation of his palace was laid at Inverary in September 1746, the firſt ſtone, which was fixed by this preſent Duke of Argyle, had this inſcription cut out upon it:

Gulielmus Cumbriæ Dux — nobis hæc otia fecit.

The Duke of Argyle was not ſingle to admire his Royal Highneſs: every one, in proportion to their being known to him, reverenced him for his every virtue, and for none more than for an incorruptible candour, and ſuch integrity of heart, that he was looked upon as one of the honeſteſt men that ever lived; his abilities in peace being no leſs conſpicuous than his talents in war: he had been already declared Chancellor of the univerſities of Dublin and of St. Andrews: his picture was in every houſe, and the Lords of the Admiralty had added a ſhip to the navy, to whom they had given the name of the CULLODEN, in commemoration of the Good he had done to his country.

However, his character in public was not more meritorious than in private life, being a promoter of every charity that was of general utility; and in his private benefactions, his only care was to fix upon proper objects, and to keep the name of the donor concealed. When the poor Palatines came over to England in queſt of a ſettlement in

one of the new acquiſitions, he ſent them a purſe of one thouſand guineas; and I have heard it affirmed by people who knew things well, that he beſtowed no leſs than 6000*l.* yearly in private charities.

He had endeavoured to be free from the noiſe and tumult of a court, and to be rid of the turmoils of party and faction, which ever ſince the peace had raged in a ſtrange manner. He never came to court, except to pay his compliments on the increaſe of the Royal Family, or to ſet off its luſtre, as at the marriage of the hereditary Prince of Brunſwick with his niece the Princeſs Auguſta, January 16th 1764: and whenever he appeared, he was wearied out with compliments and congratulations; for, convinced that the convulſions in the miniſtry did not flow from public ſpirit, from a deſign to leſſen the price of proviſions, or to do what might be for the benefit of the poor, he heard of their animoſities with diſſatisfaction and concern. And yet toward the latter end of his days, he was obliged, out of love to his nephew the King, to appear at court oftner than he had for ſome time before.

About the latter end of the year 1764 and the ſpring 1765, the King had been ſo indiſpoſed as not to appear upon the ſtated court-days till toward the middle of April; and on the 24th he delivered a ſpeech from the throne; the import of which was, that the Parliament would deliberate whether a regency ſhould be immediately ſettled, or if the nomination ſhould be committed to him, in caſe of an accident: the firſt of which meaſures was agreed to be purſued; and in the act of regency the Duke and all the Royal Family were named.

He beheld with regret the growing price of proviſions, without a proportioned augmentation of the

the price of labour and induſtry: nor was he leſs affected with the bitter complaints that were daily thrown out by the lower ſet of people, for the hardſhips put upon them by their ſuperiors. The poor ſeamen proceeded with diſplayed banners to St. James's, complaining of their being impoſed on in the diſtribution of prize-money, and other hardſhips: the ſilk-weavers in and about Spital-fields proceeded three days ſucceſſively to Weſtminſter, craving that no French ſilks might be imported. The behaviour of the juſtices of the peace, but partiularly of Sir John F--------g*, was greatly diſapproved by the Houſe of Lords, as ſome noblemen were inſulted: however, no bad conſequence followed.

Under the preſſure of theſe alarming tumults, the King ſent for his Royal Uncle to Richmond, and unboſomed himſelf to him, as to his beſt and his kindeſt friend. His Highneſs told him, "that "little danger might be apprehended from the late "turmoils: that popular clamours would ſoon ſub-"ſide, and that his Majeſty needed not make him-"ſelf uneaſy." Though theſe ſoftening expreſſions not a little ſatisfied that heart which ſo graciouſly felt for his people, yet it could not reſtrain from deſiring, that his Highneſs would endeavour to remove the prevailing diſcontents, and ſettle the miniſtry in ſuch a manner as might be moſt agreeable: and, accordingly, at his Majeſty's requeſt, he ſet about theſe important matters.

He

* This magiſtrate, (the greateſt terror of rogues ſince J. Wylde's exit) told their Lordſhips, that this was not ſuch a mob as authorized him to read the proclamation, though he well knew that the Duke of Bedford, a truly ſweet tempered nobleman, had been aſſaulted and wounded in his way from the Houſe, while the moſt outrageous and treaſonable expreſſions were uſed by ſome people, tending to excite the mob to open rebellion againſt the perſon of his moſt ſacred Majeſty King George.

He viſited Mr. Pitt at Hayes, where he dined and converſed with him upon the preſent poſture of affairs: but that gentleman choſe not to throw up a certain income of 3000*l. per ann.* to pleaſe the diſcontented, notwithſtanding he was highly in their favour. This circumſtance determined his Highneſs to look out for ſuch noblemen and gentlemen as had been moſt popular.

Of the number of theſe was General Henry Seymour Conway, eſq; brother to the Earl of Hertford; an officer of great abilities, prudence, and foreſight; great by his family, more important by his connections, and ſtill more conſiderable for his merit and ſagacity: he had been diſmiſſed from his Majeſty's ſervice by a court artifice, and without any viſible reaſon; and the populace ſeemed to be offended at what was done. This gentleman was made principal ſecretary of ſtate: lord chief juſtice Pratt (whoſe deciſions in the caſes of Wilkes, Beardmore, &c. had been mightily cried up) was created Lord Camden: the Marquis of Rockingham was made firſt lord of the treaſury. 'Tis needleſs to enumerate a catalogue of names, as the public neither loſt nor gained by the change; which whether it be for the welfare or detriment of the community his Highneſs did not live to ſee: for, on the 31ſt of October 1765, he came from Windſor to wait on their Majeſties, who received him very affectionately; and, going to his houſe in Upper Groſvenor ſtreet, he ordered ſome coffee and chocolate to be got ready about eight o'clock, as he expected company. About that time the Duke of Newcaſtle came to wait on his Highneſs; but, on the valet de chambre's going with the meſſage, behold! his head lay backward upon the great chair whereon he ſat: he was quite dead; and, from the coldneſs of his ſkin (notwithſtanding a large fire near

near him) it ſeemed that he had expired ſeveral minutes before it was known; an event not unlikely, he being exceeding corpulent, and addicted to ſleep, notwithſtanding the great exerciſe he had taken to keep his body low.

Thus lived and died William Auguſtus Duke of Cumberland, one of the moſt illuſtrious princes that ever lived. Any perſon to look at him would readily expect from him any thing that could be imagined or executed by the wit or force of man. He was of that ſtature which makes a man become all parts of exerciſe: his height was graceful on occaſions of ſtate and ceremony; and, though always inclined to corpulency, he was no leſs adapted for agility and diſpatch. His aſpect was erect and compoſed; his eyes lively and thoughtful, and yet rather vigilant than ſparkling: his actions and addreſs ſo eaſy, that he appeared to be more afraid of putting a perſon out of countenance than they of offending againſt his dignity. His behaviour in an aſſembly was peculiarly graceful, in a certain art of mixing inſenſibly with the reſt, and becoming one of the company, inſtead of receiving the courtſhip of it. There was in his look ſomething ſublime, which did not ſeem to ariſe from his dignity and character, but the innate diſpoſition of his mind. He ſuffered the preſence of much company, inſtead of taking delight in it; and he appeared in public rather to return good-will or to ſatisfy curioſity, than to gratify any taſte he himſelf had of being popular. As his thoughts were never tumultuous in danger, ſo they were as little diſcompoſed on occaſions of pomp and magnificence: enterprizing like Alexander, couragious as Charles the XIIth; and poſſeſſed of the juſtice and humanity of Cæſar himſelf. His mind was capable of contemplation as well as enterprize;

ever

ever ready for great exploits, but never impatient for occaſions to perform them. He had wiſdom and valour in as high perfection as man could enjoy them: free from oſtentation, vain-glory, ambition, and all other vices which might intrude upon his mind, and ſhake the evenneſs of his temper: in ſhort, among the moſt couragious and intrepid the moſt charitable and humane; one of the moſt candid, upright, and honeſt men of thoſe, who lived in his days.

The city of London ſent a deputation to his Majeſty, to know in what manner the Lord Mayor's day ſhould be obſerved; but though it was left intirely to themſelves, as he was to be buried that very evening in King Henry the VIIth's Chapel, all the uſual ceremonies, that diſtinguiſh this great metropolis above any other city in Europe, were diſpenſed with. The Lord Mayor Elect and the Court of Aldermen walked through Weſtminſter-hall, in a manner expreſſive of their grief, for the Defender of their religion and liberties: the two Houſes of Parliament in their Addreſſes, of the 18th of December, took notice of the loſs his Majeſty had ſuſtained by the death of his Royal Uncle: ſuch officers and ſoldiers as had been with him in the day of battle lamented him with their tears: his ſervants wept for him as for their father: the whole Royal Family were bitterly afflicted; and moſt of the Courts in Europe put on mourning when they heard of the change.

His death raiſed the more concern as it was unexpected: and his nephew Prince Frederic William, a youth of real goodneſs of heart and humanity, was ſo grieved at it, that it was thought to haſten his death, which happened on the 29th of December following.

THE END.

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Gulielmi Cumbriæ Ducis Encomiaſticon.

Conditur hoc tumulo decus et tutela Britanni
Nominis, et puræ religionis amor!
At vivit totum quæ gloria compleat orbem
Hæc menſura bono vix fuit æqua duci.
Gallorum timor ille fuit, quo præſide rerum,
Angligeno generi ſat tribuere Dii:
Præterit ille dies qui nil niſi corporis hujus
Jus habet: impavidus jam ſine fine viget.
Parte ſui meliore viget, ſuper alta perennis
Aſtra quidem fertur, nomen ubique ſonat;
Nam ſi pro meritis tumuli menſura fuiſſet
Arcta foret tumulo terra Britanna viri.

AND. HENDERSON.

ERRATA.

Page 1. l. 6. *for* Weſtphalia, *r.* Lower Saxony. P. 221. l. 34. *for* chapman *r.* merchant. P. 252. l. 34. *after* Camerons *r.* two battalions of Frazers. P. 314. l. 1. *after* guns *r.* commanded by the gallant Captain James Hamilton.

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